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KARAGÖZ AND HIS WORLD: GROTESQUE IMAGERY IN THE TURKISH SHADOW THEATRE

NECMI ERDOĞAN

ABSTRACT

Based on an analysis of the already transcribed *karagöz* "scenarios", this study argues that the Turkish shadow theatre is characterized by a grotesque imagery. Its principal stock character, Karagöz, is a fool hero who turns the world upside down and inside out in a grotesque manner. *Karagöz* is also marked by what Bakhtin calls "carnivalization of speech", i.e. freeing language from gloomy seriousness of the official culture and subverting truisms. The study also asserts that *karagöz* defies the commonplace classification of the Ottoman cultural field in terms of impermeable and mutually exclusive categories of "high culture" and "folk culture".

Keywords: Turkish shadow theatre, grotesque, Bakhtin, folk laughter, folk culture.

"SHADOW OF PHANTASM"

The grotesque character of the Turkish shadow theatre has not been subjected to a thorough investigation even though there are scant references to Bakhtin's analysis of grotesque imagery in the existing literature.[1] Based on an analysis of the already transcribed *karagöz* "scenarios",[2] this study will argue that the world of Karagöz is thoroughly grotesque and bears striking affinities with that of Rabelais as analyzed by Bakhtin. Leaving aside the predicaments of *karagöz* in modern times,[3] it will examine the use of grotesque bodily images and of carnivalesque speech in the "classical" *karagöz* plays characteristic of the Turkish folk tradition

[1] Smith 2004; Ze'evi 2006.

[2] All compiled by Kudret (1968; 1969; 1970). The list of the *karagöz* plays examined here and the English translation of their titles are provided at the end of References for the sake of convenience. Hereafter, when referring to Kudret's volumes, the titles of the plays will be cited as well.

[3] For the attempts by the early Republican regime at re-appropriating the shadow theatre as part of its Kemalist project of inventing a national tradition, see Erdoğan (1998) and Öztürk (2006).

of laughter. It will also assert that *karagöz* defies the strict classification of the cultural field in terms of impermeable and mutually exclusive categories of "high culture" and "folk culture".

Strikingly enough, the Turkish shadow theatre could not escape Bakhtin's own attention as he already noticed the relationship between Karagöz and the figure of the comic Hercules in Greece: "Hercules, the powerful and simple servant to the cowardly weak and false king Euristheus; Hercules, who had conquered death in battle and had descended into the nether world; Hercules the monstrous glutton, the playboy, the drunk and scrapper, but especially Hercules the madman... Until quite recently this figure lived on in the Turkish game of *shadow puppets*".[4] Here I will argue for the theoretical relevance of Bakhtinian categories in analyzing the Turkish shadow theatre. Yet it is already known that Bakhtin's conception of carnivalesque and grotesque draws its motifs and themes from medieval European popular culture, and particularly, a very specific festive tradition and an associated bodily imagery. Moreover, his view of the incessant struggle between a serious and fear-inspiring ruling or official stratum and a laughing chorus of the people is modelled on European feudal forms of authority and cultural hierarchy.[5] Henceforth, an uncritical translation of Bakhtinian categories into the history of Turkish folk culture, as well as into popular culture of modern capitalist societies at large, would be undermined by its own Eurocentric and anachronistic implications. The peculiarities of Turkish folk culture suggest that such categories can be employed with some reservations. Among others, the very absence of a ritual tradition of carnival in the Turkish case implies that temporary suspension of hierarchical order, so characteristic of carnivals, was a matter of narrative and not a requisite for their performance or reception.[6]

Developed from the sixteenth century onwards, the Turkish shadow theatre receives its name from its principal stock character, Karagöz, which means "black-eye".[7] The Ottoman terms used for the shadow theatre or *karagöz* are *hayal-i zill* and *zill-i hayal*, literally, "phantasm of shadow" and "shadow of phantasm". Like the Ottoman art of miniature, the shadow theatre is based on the long-standing aperspectival, and two-dimensional visual tradition, privileging the vocal over the

[4] Bakhtin 1981: 55.

[5] Hirschkop 1989: 33.

[6] Bakhtin (1984: 129-30) argues that "a person of the Middle Ages lived, as it were, *two lives*: one was the *official* life, monolithically serious and gloomy, subjugated to a strict hierarchical order, full of terror, dogmatism, reverence, and piety; the other was the life of the carnival square, free and unrestricted, full of ambivalent laughter, blasphemy, the profanation of everything sacred, full of debasing and obscenities, familiar contact with everyone and everything. Both these lives were legitimate, but separated by strict temporal boundaries". Except in the case of the Turkish shadow theatre, mostly performed at Ramadan nights which underlined the contrast between fasting and eating (abstinence and enjoyment), the temporality of the comic folk narratives in the Turkish case was not strictly separated from that of "serious" life.

[7] For the technique of performance and of puppet making, see Mizrahi 1991: 65-82.

visual. It does not even attempt to imitate reality which is strictly forbidden by Islam.[8] Hence is the frequent emphasis on its imaginary and shadowy character.

Karagöz as a folk comic genre was an entirely oral tradition, being performed mainly in coffeehouses as well as courts of the Ottoman ruling class. The available texts are not directly transcribed from actual performances; and most "scenarios" studied here are those ones written down by the last court player, Nazif Bey. Thus, the material does not authorize us to compare and contrast confidently different performances (e.g. high- and low-style *karagöz* plays). Also the processes of its production and reception cannot be fully grasped since the shadow theatre allows its players to improvise by changing or modifying dialogues, jokes or characters and since it consists of independent episodes that can be replaced by others depending on player's preferences or audience response.[9] Possible forms of interruption, player's mistakes, audience asides and responses, the setting of the performance all that would affect the performance are not written down.[10]

The two main characters of the Turkish shadow theatre are Karagöz and Hacivat who are cast as close friends from childhood and as fellow neighbors. Hacivat is, or pretends to be, an elegant member of the Ottoman ruling class, being civilized, polite, compromising, and educated. He seems to be quite familiar with the etiquette, mannerisms and language of the court and high dignitaries. His language is full of Arabic and Persian expressions and esoteric metaphors, incomprehensible to the ordinary people. Seeming to have knowledge of music, literature and sciences, he is outrageously pedantic. Besides, he is hypocritical, selfish, and insidious. On the other hand, Karagöz is a fool-trickster figure who is poor, unemployed, uneducated, coarse, intransigent, impudent, naive, lying, and cunning. Artificiality vs. simplicity, calculative mind vs. bodily gestures, limited bodily actions vs. dynamism, status quo vs. trickery are the poles of opposition between two inseparable friends. Karagöz mostly introduces himself, or is presented as, a gypsy and often appears as a blacksmith, a gypsy occupation in the Ottoman Empire. Turning the world upside down and inside out, he laughs at and makes a fool of everybody and, in turn, is laughed at and duped. Hacivat's subtle and highfalutin Ottoman-Turkish speech dialogically contrasts with Karagöz's coarse Turkish speech. His pretentious language is incomprehensible to Karagöz who parodies his utterances by misunderstanding them in a grotesque manner. Indeed, Karagöz is a composite figure, combining the narrative functions of the rogue, fool, and clown as it embodies the rogue's clever wit, the fool's naive incomprehension, and the clown's carnivalesque reversal.[11]

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[8] Illusion of reality is not given in *ortaoyunu* either, i.e. "play in the middle" with live actors developed in the nineteenth century Istanbul and drew largely upon the shadow theatre for its repertory and stock characters. See Kudret 1994a and 1994b.

[9] And 1975: 14.

[10] Besides, there is a problem with the English translation of *karagöz* texts, that is, the unavoidable loss of effect due to the humorous play with words, punning, matching inversion of word order and distortion, extensive deployment of accents, slang, and homonyms.

[11] Cf. Bakhtin 1981: 162, 401-5.

The shadow theatre also includes stock characters associated with various social (occupational, ethnic, local) positions such as Çelebi (gentleman, dandy), Zenne (dame), Turk (Turkish peasant), Tuzsuz Deli Bekir (drunkard), Jew, and Albanian. It does not involve the development of personality since the narrative structure is mainly circular and is not based on a cause and effect relation. Therefore, the stock characters have no individual psychological traits and their identities are fixed and reduced to the stereotypical images of their respective social positions by means of such narrative devices as ethnic or local "character traits", dialects, and accents. Just like the Ottoman art of miniatures, they are two-dimensional, being without a sense of individuality. "All that a man is", Bakhtin remarks on exteriority of characters in Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, "finds its expression in actions and in dialogue. There is nothing that cannot be made public (outwardly expressed)".[12] In common with Rabelaisian imagery, the characters of *karagöz* are depicted as having no "world of interiority", i.e., no inner speech or inner experience. Their entire being is completely on the surface; and they live in a world of externality in which everything is expressed in actions and dialogue.

As conceptualized by Bakhtin, the term chronotope expresses the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships represented in narratives.[13] Chronotope provides settings where narratives take place, shapes characterization, and limits narrative possibility. The predominant chronotope of the shadow theatre is the square in a quarter of Ottoman Istanbul backed by a cyclical, repetitive, collective experience of time.[14] The *karagöz* stage was modeled on the old quarters of Istanbul each having a life of its own with its corps of firemen, headman, night-watchmen, its rich and poor people, its devout and libertine, decent and rogue persons.[15] Quarters were relatively isolated from the outer world, having many cul-de-sacs and narrow streets easy to control and inhabitants would scrutinize passers-by and have a say in allowing new inhabitants, especially "alien" ones. The usual spatial differentiation of places of living and working, of home and job centers and marketplaces, was the main cause of the relative isolation and homogeneity of quarters.[16] Inhabitants of a quarter usually had a common religious or ethnic identity. The stock characters of the shadow theatre represented persons living in or passing through any quarter of the old city.

Karagöz has a rich intertext. While its characters speak on behalf of their respective social classes, ethnic identities or local origins, its motifs often refer to historical events (e.g. *Hamam* and *Kanlı Nigar*), rearticulate other folk narratives (e.g. *Tahir ile Zühre*, and *Ferhad ile Şirin*), or adapt from Western theatre and

[12] Bakhtin 1981: 239-40.
[13] Bakhtin 1981 and 1984.
[14] Cf. Bakhtin 1981: 132, 159.
[15] Siyavuşgil 1961: 16-7.
[16] Faroqhi 1997: 166-7.

particularly *commedia dell'arte* (e.g., *Hekimlik*, *Cincilik*) – a late nineteenth century phenomenon. Its texture thus parodies and hybridizes the high and low literary genres as well as the dialects and accents of diverse ethnic, local, and occupational groups.

Karagöz was mostly played in Istanbul, especially in coffeehouses on Ramadan nights, and sometimes at private homes of the members of the ruling class. The development of coffeehouses from the mid-sixteenth century onwards contributed to the wide popular appeal of the shadow theatre, a process that coincided with the formation of the classical repertory of plays. Coffeehouses constituted the major setting of the shadow theatre performances in their "low style", its "high style" being performed at the court and private homes. Being developed largely within the confines of metropolitan Istanbul and its hinterland, *karagöz* was not much known and performed in Anatolia except in some urban centers.[17]

GROTESQUE IMAGERY

Characteristic of the *karagöz* plays is a grotesque imagery that involves "lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract",[18] Reducing the high and spiritual to the material level of earth and body, the shadow theatre accentuates the indivisible wholeness and positivity of the human body as the bodily images of sexual acts, defecation, urination, eating and drinking, birth and death, and thrashing are tightly interwoven with one another. Its grotesque imagery represents the human body as grandiose, exaggerated, and excessive, focusing upon its lower parts (e.g. genitals and buttocks) and its orifices (e.g. mouth, anus, and phallus).

Grotesque debasement in *karagöz* has its locus in the "material bodily lower stratum". The phallus is often featured in *karagöz* plays even though the Turkish historical sources tend to disregard it. *Karagöz* is sometimes represented as sporting a huge phallus. The performances that feature Karagöz with his phallus are called "*toramanlı karagöz*" (*karagöz* with the phallus), almost constituting a sub-genre. When his sons run away so as not to be circumcised, Karagöz himself is circumcised for a second time.[19] According to historical records, in a play, he is dragged out of the women's public bath tied by his phallus; in another play, his phallus is bitten by a dog; and still in another one, figures are represented as their

[17] We have almost no information available at hand about the *karagöz* performances in Anatolian cities. Amongst the few exceptions is Boratav's (1969: 198) suggestion that the shadow theatre performances in the north-eastern Anatolian city of Kars had some thematic and stylistic peculiarities while the ones in the western Anatolian cities such as Izmir and Bursa did not differ from the tradition in Istanbul at all. However, any comparison and contrast among regional and local variations remains obscure and inconclusive.

[18] Bakhtin 1968: 19.

[19] *Sünnet*, Kudret 1970: 101-2.

phalluses being tied to their necks. Similarly, the Winnebago trickster examined by Radin carries his phallus in a box; and Hermes is often represented by the phallus alone.[20] Kerenyi states that "to speak of a *sly phallus* or *stupid phallus* would not be too absurd a description of the motivating force of the trickster's adventures, so far as this is not greed, which by nature hangs together with the sphere of the phallic. The phallus is Trickster's double and alter ego".[21] Referring to the phlyakes who had the phallus strapped on to them, he also suggests that *karagöz* is the successor of the phlyax theatre.[22]

The bodily images of defecation and urination are also frequently employed by *karagöz*. For instance, Karagöz spits on the faces of the Çelebi and Zenne turned into a goose and a donkey by the witches.[23] He drenches in urine the figures in the jar; and attempts to make Bekri drunk his urine instead of alcohol.[24] He plays *zurna* (a musical instrument similar to oboe) stained by his children's urine.[25] He makes the opium-addict eat the opium shitted by his kids and then he himself eats it.[26] He defecates on the chamber-pot and throws it at Çelebi's face.[27] He frequently urinates when he is frightened.[28] Arab shits on Karagöz and Hacivat.[29]

Sexual acts are not directly represented but central to Karagöz's speech as will be seen below. They also appear to be a major theme in some plays. For instance, Karagöz seduces a veiled dame he has met in the street but soon realizes that she is his own wife.[30] Even if he often fails, he never stops trying to seduce the dames. Besides, his wife often cheats him, having had many lovers. Yet he does not refrain from asking her to get some money from her lover.[31] When he realizes that Hacivat's daughter is offering Çelebi her father's buried gold to persuade him to have sex, Karagöz says, "I'll fuck you just for a penny".[32] Sometimes Karagöz also resorts to the trick of disguising himself as a woman in order to enter into the dame's house or the pleasure garden forbidden to him by Hacivat or in order to shock the drunkard as a bride.[33]

The bodily images described in the dialogue *Kahve Kutusu* are quite similar to the ones in Rabelais.[34] For instance, unable to pay his debt to the owner of the

[20] Radin 1972; Kerenyi 1972.
[21] Kerenyi 1972: 182.
[22] Kerenyi 1972: 184.
[23] *Cazular*, Kudret 1968.
[24] *Yalova Sefası*, Kudret 1970; *Meyhane*, Kudret 1969.
[25] *Bahçe*, Kudret 1968: 204-5; *Meyhane*, Kudret 1969: 502.
[26] *Karagöz'ün Esrar İçip Deli Olması*, Kudret 1969: 356.
[27] *Tımarhane*, Kudret 1970: 329.
[28] *Balık*, Kudret 1968: 267; *Orman*, Kudret 1969: 521; *Tahir ile Zühre*, Kudret 1970: 191.
[29] *Kırgınlar*, Kudret 1969: 409-10.
[30] *Büyük Evlenme*, Kudret 1968: 308-10.
[31] *Mandıra*, Kudret 1969: 466.
[32] *Çeşme*, Kudret 1969: 42.
[33] *Aşçılık*, Kudret 1968; *Bahçe*, Kudret 1968; *Ters Evlenme*, Kudret 1970.
[34] Rabelais 1955.

coffeehouse, Karagöz hides himself in the coffee-pot. Then he finds himself in the opium-addict's stomach and observes the "fox-trot" of "Mademoiselle Stuffed Eggplant" and "Monsieur Stuffed Cabbage". He goes down the bowels and listens to the noise they make. Finally the opium-addict defecates and Karagöz falls into the sewer.[35] In *Eczahane*, he takes out the madman's nose, the Jew's jaw, and the elderly man's arms and head; and he "repairs" them again. He buys a second-hand mind.[36] He keeps his mind in his anus in order to prevent it from catching cold.[37] Similarly, he would thrust the axe into his anus in order to hide it if it does not have an iron edge.[38] In *Tahmis*, Karagöz and Hacivat take the broken donkey to a donkey repairer who repairs it wrongly so that its hind legs stick up in the air.[39]

Yet it is to be emphasized that "such debasing gestures and expressions are ambivalent, since the lower stratum is not only a bodily grave but also the area of the genital organs, the fertilizing and generating stratum. Therefore, in the images of urine and excrement is preserved the essential link with birth, fertility, renewal, welfare".[40] Karagöz says that he was born out of his mother's anus; and that he himself gave birth to his own parents.[41] As to death, Siyavuşgil claims that "Karagöz hates death and dead and the worst of all results is beating. In a society where killing or execution without any reason was usual, nothing could be more natural than the expulsion of death from the screen by the folk spirit".[42] Yet death is not simply annulled or expelled from the stage. Rather it is carnivalized, and becomes "cheerful death".[43] For example, having caused the Jew to fall from the swing and die, he also lies down and pretends to be dead in order to verify the principle of "the Gypsy and the Jew act in exactly the opposite ways": the Jew rises from the coffin making all other run away in panic except Karagöz.[44] In *Kırgınlar*, he kills Hacivat and his three brothers but they are resuscitated again. In *Ferhad ile Şirin* which is a travesty of a tragic folk romance, Ferhad kills the witch employed by Şirin's mother to prevent their marriage; her life "goes out of her ass" and Karagöz slaps her.[45] When highwaymen want to cut off Karagöz's head, he answers "but it is unripe".[46] Similarly, Tuzsuz Deli Bekir, the drunkard, pretends to cut off Karagöz's head; and Karagöz asks him to put a handkerchief on the floor so that when his head falls down, it would not get dirty.

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[35] *Kahve Kutusu,* Kudret 1970: 487-90.
[36] *Aşçılık*, Kudret 1968: 143.
[37] *Tahir ile Zühre*, Kudret 1970: 193.
[38] *Kanlı Kavak*, Kudret 1969: 294.
[39] Kudret 1970: 259.
[40] Bakhtin 1968: 148.
[41] *Tahir ile Zühre*, Kudret 1970: 194-5; *Aşçılık*, Kudret 1968: 143-4.
[42] Siyavuşgil 1941: 114-5.
[43] Bakhtin 1981: 196.
[44] *Salıncak*, Kudret 1970: 79-81.
[45] Kudret 1969: 141-2.
[46] *Orman*, Kudret 1969: 522.

The banquet images of food, eating, drinking and drunkenness constitute one of the main elements of grotesque imagery. The hyperbolized images of food and drink are scattered throughout the *karagöz* texts, being interwoven with the material bodily principle. When Karagöz assumes the role of night watchman upon Hacivat's request, he goes around and introduces himself as if he is selling food: "Hi there, night watchmen for sale, plain or filled with cheese or minced meat, night watchmen!"[47] For him, there are almost no words which do not signify food; and he is capable of associating each and every word, object or phenomenon with banquet. He misunderstands and confuses "Tehran" with *tarhana* (a soup), "Iran" with *ayran* (yoghurt drink), *edebiyat* (literature) with *et payı* (portion of meat), *musakkafat* (property) with *musakka* (eggplant dish), etc.[48] He introduces himself to Hacivat as "Leek," claiming that his father's name is "Cabbage", his mother's "Turnip," his uncles' "Spinach" and "Bean," his aunt's "Celery," his children's "Parsley," "Peppermint," "Onion" and "Salad."[49] He makes use of banquet images to deprive the high style poems of their sublime or esoteric meaning and travesties the high aesthetic images of "absence", "patience", and "beloved" by replacing them with the somatic images of delicious dishes, desserts, and fruits.

Grotesque images of joyful thrashing and abuse are also seen in the shadow theatre in which Hacivat often suffers from Karagöz's blows; and such images are, as Bakhtin notes, "symbolic actions directed at something on a higher level, at the king" or the "king's uncrowning".[50] Following Bakhtin, Stallybrass and White note that "transgressions and the attempt to control them obsessively return to somatic symbols, for these are ultimate elements of social classification itself".[51] Such an obsessive use of somatic images is also the case in the folk humor of *karagöz*.

When examining the grotesque imagery in the medieval European folk laughter, Bakhtin argues that it "builds its own world versus the official world, its own church versus the official church, its own state versus the official state".[52] Let alone representing "king's uncrowning", the *karagöz* scenarios studied here occupy a peculiar place – even among Turkish folk narratives and genres – precisely because of the lack of representation of Ottoman sultans or officials except the praises to the sultan in the poems of the curtain recited by Hacivat in the prologues. In direct contrast to the fact that the state was omnipresent in the social space of the Ottoman capital including the performance setting and context of the shadow theatre, the square in a quarter of Istanbul as the major chronotope of *karagöz* seems to be out of the reach of state power. Let alone the figuration of the sultan or

[47] *Abdal Bekçi*, Kudret 1968: 79.

[48] *Bahçe*, Kudret 1968: 187-8; *Canbazlar*, Kudret 1968: 337; *Bursalı Leyla*, Kudret 1968: 274; *Hamam*, Kudret 1969: 205.

[49] *Aşçılık*, Kudret 1968: 145; *Şairlik*, Kudret 1969: 135.

[50] Bakhtin 1968: 197.

[51] Stallybrass and White 1986: 26.

[52] Bakhtin 1968: 88.

high dignitaries, even a janissary does not appear on the screen as if the state and its officials are located by and large beyond the Küşteri square.

Yet this seems to have to do with the facts that most *karagöz* texts available at hand belong to the court players and that they were collected and transcribed during and after the despotic rule of Abdulhamid II. For some foreign observers who visited the Ottoman Empire – particularly during the 19th century – noted that before the rigid censorship under the rule of Abdulaziz and Abdulhamid II the shadow theatre was often deployed as a political weapon against the corrupt statesmen and officials. Some observers remarked that its satire was even directed against the Sultan himself.[53] As an example of political satire, it is reported that the Sultan's son-in-law, who was the chief admiral, was ridiculed in the following way: Karagöz advises a young man who looks for a job to become a chief admiral as he does not know anything and as it does not require any knowledge or competence. Reappearing on the screen as a chief admiral, the young man talks to Karagöz about his "victories": Wandering along the Bosphorus without any purpose, he launches an attack against mice "waging a war" to occupy the ship and destroys the "enemy" by the help of dogs. The "victorious" admiral is rewarded by the Sultan by marriage with his daughter.[54] It is thus noted that *karagöz* served as "a subversive and disobedient newspaper without censor". Leaving aside the representation of stately figures, one can argue that state power is projected onto the shadow screen in an implicit and allusive manner as the grotesque imagery of *karagöz* parodies the high culture incarnated by the figure of Hacivat.

CARNIVALESQUE SPEECH

As an "intentional dialogized hybrid" of high and low languages, *karagöz* stages a dispute between a dismal, serious, high-style word and a cheerful folk word.[55] It is based on a playful parody of the Ottoman official world and high culture. Karagöz systematically misunderstands what Hacivat says or advises by bringing the dialogue down to the material bodily level of eating, drinking, copulation or defecation. Thereby, he degrades and materializes the language itself by reducing words and expressions to the material bodily principle. Hacivat's speech is turned inside out by Karagöz's nonsensical, joyful, playful, immoral and abusive words and expressions. Karagöz builds on Hacivat's incomprehensible and pretentious utterances many indecent and coarse puns. In this sense, it is marked by what Bakhtin calls "carnivalization of speech", i.e. freeing language from gloomy

[53] And 1975: 67.

[54] And 1985: 294.

[55] Indeed, the encounter between the forms of popular speech and the official language in *karagöz* plays is quite similar to the Greek one, between demotic Greek and purist Greek, Katharevusa spoken by the upper classes and officials. See Myrsiades and Myrsiades 1992: 2.

seriousness of the official culture and subverting truisms and commonplace ideas.[56] Strikingly enough, the dialogues of Hacivat and Karagöz are similar to those of Solomon and Morolf and of Don Quixote and Sancho in their contrasting of the lofty and sententious pronouncements of Hacivat to the abusive, flippant and debasing speech of Karagöz. Indeed such pairs of images represent the dialogue of the high and the low, top and bottom, face and buttocks, life and death.[57]

Karagöz is a comedy of dialects, ridiculing dialectological peculiarities and speech manners of Turk, Jew, Greek, Albanian, Arab, Persian, and Armenian.[58] Dialects, accents, languages of various social groups, play with words, curses, abuses, swearing, proverbs, riddles, metaphors, cock-and-bull stories, similes, hyperboles, puns, equivocal meanings, sexual allusions, all contribute to the parodic-travestying and relativizing imagery of *karagöz*. Also it encompasses a wide variety of the social languages and speech genres of the empire, ranging from the naive and coarse speech of the peasant Turk to the complicated and esoteric Ottoman-Turkish language of the educated.

Among the various narrative encounters between the Ottoman high culture and the urban folk culture is Karagöz's parodying Hacivat's (and other figures') esoteric poems and couplets by systematically misusing Arabic and Persian words and versifying with similar sounds while emptying out all the transcendental, spiritual and moralistic meanings of poems. In reply to "serious" and "eloquent" songs, verses, and poems, he turns them inside out or composes new ones that are full of absurd strings of words without any meaning. He replaces the poetic images of *sümbül* (hyacinth) with *sümük* (mucus), *gül* (rose) with *göt* (ass), *severdim* (I loved) with *sikerdim* (I fucked).[59] In *Şairlik*, he wins the prize in a poetry contest not by improvising poems on given rhymes and themes but by making fun of other poets and folk minstrels with nonsensical puns and coarse jokes. Karagöz's stupidity always has a polemical and dialogic character as it parodies the lofty pseudo intelligence of Hacivat and tears it away by means of the device of not understanding.[60]

Parodic-travestying uses of language also include Karagöz's cacophonous, obscure, incoherent, illogical monologues in the Ottoman-Turkish language. He parodies the esoteric language of Hacivat's poems and songs by freely mixing up Ottoman-Turkish words without using them "properly" or by *tekerleme* (a folk poetic genre based on playing with words). Karagöz's fantastic monologues are marked by absurd expressions devoid of logical sequence and defying norms of

[56] Bakhtin 1968: 426.
[57] Bakhtin 1968: 434.
[58] Cf. Bakhtin 1981: 82.
[59] *Mandıra*, Kudret 1969: 363-5.
[60] As Bakhtin (1981: 403) argues, at the heart of the device of not understanding lies "a polemical failure to understand generally accepted, canonized, inveterately false languages with their lofty labels for things and events: poetic language, scholarly and pedantic language, religious, political, judicial language and so forth".

common sense; what is called by Bakhtin "*coq-a-l'ane*".[61] Freed from the confines of the conventional order of things and phenomena, they are not restricted by any framework of meaning. They transgress all divisions between objects, values, and events by relating and combining them in illogical ways. Among the numerous counterparts of the Rabelais' images of "the sea pregnant with cabbage" and "soup served to oxen" in *karagöz* are "dueling with swordfish", "dancing of puff pastry at the table", and "fight between Mercan Street and Çakmakçılar Hill".[62] Verbal plays and absurdities unearth the reversibility and ambivalence of the linguistic, symbolic and cultural order: "It is as if words had been released from the shackles of sense, to enjoy a play period of complete freedom and establish unusual relationships among themselves. True, no new consistent links are formed in most cases, but the brief coexistence of these words, expressions, and objects outside the usual logical conditions discloses their inherent ambivalence".[63]

Karagöz constructs completely nonsensical and monstrous sentences in Ottoman Turkish such as "past tense comes into being for there is no income" and "the problem in question will change when it is subtracted from the aforementioned debt".[64] Through the constant deployment of the principle of *reductio ad absurdum*, language itself is travestied and carnivalized, becoming the primary source of laughter rather than a means of rational communication. "Karagöz coins words and names out of quasi-meaningless sounds, based on free association, verbal anarchy, a confusion of non-words, and empty phrases".[65] For instance, he coins nonsensical words in French such as "turidiction" and "revatsion".[66] Also, Karagöz's unusual dreams and unrestrained daydreaming have an enormous power since, as Bakhtin remarks in the context of Menippean satire, they make him lose his finalized quality and integrity and reveal the possibility of another life organized according to laws different from those governing ordinary life – the laws of an "inside out world".[67]

Abusive expressions are central to *karagöz*'s grotesque imagery. Most commonly used ones are "fuck you/your cunt/your ass", "fuck off," and "shit on you". Scattered throughout the texts are there "dip your nose in the baby's chamber-pot", "dog shit on your reputation", "shit on your father's bones, and your mother's too", "fuck your wife", "eat my cock", "eat my ass", "lick my ass," and "eat shit".[68] Even his dialogues with his son are full of abusive expressions such as "shit on your mouth", "shit on your face", "fuck your ass".[69] Also the names of people are

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[61] Bakhtin 1968: 422.

[62] *Karagöz'ün Esrar İçip Deli Olması*, Kudret 1969: 359-60; *Kırgınlar*, Kudret 1969: 406.

[63] Bakhtin 1968: 423.

[64] *Canbazlar*, Kudret 1968: 335; *Tımarhane*, Kudret 1970: 310; *Hain Kahya*, Kudret 1969: 171.

[65] And 1975: 50.

[66] *Sahte Hasta*, Kudret 1970: 524.

[67] Bakhtin 1984: 116-7, 147.

[68] *Abdal Bekçi*, Kudret 1968: 67, 69, 77; *Kırgınlar*, Kudret 1969: 422; *Yazıcı*, Kudret 1970: 395; *Sünnet*, Kudret 1970: 113, 115; *Sahte Esirci*, Kudret 1970: 17.

[69] *Büyük Evlenme*, Kudret 1968: 330.

debasing and abusive: "jinn-fucker", "monkey-fucker", "fart", "shitty", "juicy-plateau-grass", "fountain-with-tongue", "earless-tailless-colt".[70]

For Karagöz, there is almost no single word that cannot be associated with or misunderstood in terms of the grotesque images of food, drink, defecation, sex, animals. No matter what the dialogue is about, indecent expressions find a place for themselves. When the dame says, "My curiosity has aroused," he replies, "mine also has aroused".[71] He misunderstands *istihdam* (employment) as *ihtilam* (ejaculation during sleep); the word *aybaşı* which is used to denote "first day of the month" (when salaries are paid) is understood by Karagöz as "menstruation", the verb *kaldırmak* which is used to mean "to lift" as "to erect", the noun *kalkan* which is used to refer "turbot" as "penis", etc.[72] Similarly, he misunderstands *semai* (a poetic genre) as *semaver* (samovar), *kerat* (multiplication table) as *kırat* (grey horse), *mevhum* (concept) as *marul* (lettuce), *aruz* (prosody) as *horoz* (cock), *mantık* (logic) as *mantı* (Turkish ravioli), *ana rahmi* (mother's womb) as *ana lağımı* (main sewer).[73] In this way, misunderstanding and not understanding serve to rip words away from their object, and thereby, transgress the very boundaries of language. Another form of juggling with words is the ambivalence produced by their equivocality and double meaning: *yazı* (writing and summer), *çalma* (playing and stealing), *yaş-am* (evening – Jewish accent – and wet vagina), *cebir* (algebra and force), *sofra* (dining table and anus).[74] He plays with the equivocal meanings of *üstüne başına yaparım* ("I'll outfit you" and "I'll shit on you"), *ta-şama* ("to Damascus" and "to my testicles").[75]

Indeed the carnivalesque speech in the Turkish shadow theatre is in tune with Bakhtin's remarks on the literature of European folk tradition of laughter "where there was no language-center at all, where there was to be found a lively play with the 'languages' of poets, scholars, monks, knights and others, where all 'languages' were masks and where no language could claim to be an authentic, incontestable face".[76] One could argue that the parodic-travestying language of the shadow theatre reflects the intrinsic diversity of the verbal-ideological world in the Ottoman Empire. Interwoven with the grotesque bodily images, it also serves the destruction of linguistic norms, simultaneously destroying the familiar matrices and creating new ones. In this way, different social languages and speech genres are subjected to a parodic-travestying mimicry so that "language itself, which everywhere serves as a means of direct expression, becomes in this new context the image of language, the image of the direct word".[77]

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[70] *Yazıcı*, Kudret 1970: 402; *Meyhane*, Kudret 1969: 483; *Mandıra*, Kudret 1969: 463; *Canbazlar* 1968: 350.

[71] *Ortaklar*, Kudret 1969: 559.

[72] *Ağalık*, Kudret 1968: 124; *Abdal Bekçi*, Kudret 1968: 84; *Eczahane*, Kudret 1969: 79; *Yalova Sefası*, Kudret 1970: 361.

[73] *Bakkallık*, Kudret 1968: 221; *Bursalı Leyla*, Kudret 1968: 276, 281; *Canbazlar*, Kudret 1968: 338; *Kanlı Kavak*, Kudret 1969: 280; *Şairlik*, Kudret 1970: 133.

[74] *Tımarhane*, Kudret 1970: 333; *Bursalı Leyla*, Kudret 1968: 278; *Hamam*, Kudret 1969: 210.

[75] *Abdal Bekçi*, Kudret 1968: 78, 87; Ağalık, Kudret 1968: 116-7.

[76] Bakhtin 1981: 273.

[77] Bakhtin 1981: 59.

HIGH VERSUS LOW CULTURE?

It is often asserted that, in the Ottoman Empire, there existed two different cultural worlds without any significant contact with one another, official-high culture and folk culture. They are considered to be "fundamentally estranged cultures", isolated from one another by "almost Chinese walls".[78] I will not argue that the high/folk culture distinction cannot be applied to the cultural field in the Ottoman Empire. That would be to turn a blind eye to obvious differences in poetry, music, etc. The divide between Ottoman high culture and Anatolian folk culture was symbolized and sustained, above all, by the difference in their languages.[79] Yet the field of cultural practices was not simply polarized around the high and the low but displayed a "variegated spectrum of expressive dynamism lying between those two poles".[80] In her study on everyday life in the Ottoman society, Faroqhi also notes that there was an ever-increasing exchange between the Ottoman high culture and the urban folk culture.[81]

While the relationship of other folk cultural forms, genres and narratives with the official Ottoman culture might have been minimal and largely external, this is not the case for the shadow theatre. A distinguishing feature of the shadow theatre is that it did not exclusively belong to the folk culture but was also shared by the Ottoman high culture.[82] *Karagöz* was, in fact, a hybrid urban folk genre that cannot be adequately grasped in terms of the conventional image of the folk culture as a realm in isolation, clearly demarcated from and without any significant tension with high culture.[83] It capably parodied the most dramatic folk stories as well as the high style "serious" poems by inverting, travestying or playing with their syntactic, lexical and semantic structures.

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[78] Mardin 1969: 270; 1960-1: 252; 1991: 56.

[79] Whereas the Anatolian-Turkish subjects of the sultan (peasants, nomads, and semi-nomads) spoke a variety of "simple Turkish", the ruling elites spoke Ottoman Turkish language (a complex bricolage of Arabic, Persian and Turkish lexicons within the framework of the Turkish syntax) and labeled the former as "vulgar".

[80] Kafadar 1989: 122.

[81] Faroqhi 1997: 10. Yet Faroqhi (1997: 293-4) tends to think of the two in oversimplifying terms of written and oral culture; and contends that many members of the upper stratum made an extensive use of oral culture in their everyday life.

[82] Another example of narrative genres common to both urban folk and high culture was the one performed by *meddah*s, storytellers who told stories, personified characters, and mimicked accents and dialects. They recounted their tales both in coffeehouses and in the courts of dignitaries and the palace. See Nutku 1997.

[83] To argue against the stability of the hierarchical binary ordering of the cultural field into high and low and against the purity and impermeability of the poles does not necessarily imply abandoning the very distinction. As is often emphasized by critics such as Gramsci (1985: 344), Jameson (1992: 14) and Hall (1996), the relations between "high" and "popular" cultural forms are to be analyzed in dynamic and interrelated terms as they act upon each other historically and constitute twin and inseparable forms of the fission of cultural production, the sediments of earlier high cultural forms seeping down into popular culture and, conversely, popular cultural forms being raised into the high aesthetic.

Karagöz thus constituted a borderline genre in which interaction between high and folk cultures was maximized; and, in that capacity, it also re-accentuated and underlined the very high/low distinction. The latter became internal to the genre itself insofar as one can posit a distinction between the so-called "high" ("refined") and "low" (grotesque) styles or traditions of *karagöz*. Apart from folk performances in coffeehouses particularly on Ramadan nights, the shadow theatre was also played during the ceremonial days of the circumcision of the princes from the sixteenth century onwards (e.g., the circumcision of the prince Mehmed in 1582 and that of the prince Mustafa in 1675). Yet it was not exclusive to the imperial ceremonies of circumcision and was played at other times as well.[84] By the nineteenth century, employment of *karagöz* players at the court was an institutionalized practice in the Ottoman Empire. The fact that Ottoman sultans had shadow theatre presented especially for the imperial court is also evident in the prologues of many *karagöz* plays in which they are praised.

Given that *karagöz* was not exclusive to the cultural milieu of the urban folk but was also staged before the Sultans and high dignitaries, there arises the question of possible differences between the folk and high cultural traditions of *karagöz*. Siyavuşgil contends that there was a clear-cut distinction between the low ("degenerate") and high ("traditional" or "classical") forms of *karagöz* performance.[85] Similarly, And suggests that the performance at the court was more "refined" and "literary".[86] Yet he also observes that the court theatre in the Ottoman Empire imitated the folk theatre, having no distinctive qualities. On the other hand, Tietze takes note of the fact that the sources available at hand are too inadequate to decide on it as the Ottoman chronicles are usually reticent about the *karagöz* performances in the court circumcision and wedding festivals. Also he rightly points out that "contrary to the Javanese *wayang* with its Sakralstil or the modern Greek *karagiozis*, derived from the Turkish tradition, with its patriotic-heroic style, the Turkish shadow play has not developed a real *high style*. Even where it has assimilated themes from *high style genres*, it has *daintified* them and has added a farcical dimension by including its two stock characters in the story".[87] The *karagöz* scenarios transcribed by the last court *karagöz* player and examined in this study testify to the fact that the grotesque imagery embedded in the folk tradition of laughter made its way into the high-style performances as well. It is also worth noting that political opponents of Abdulaziz reigned 1861-1876 denounced him for enjoying himself with immoral *karagöz* and *ortaoyunu* plays. They claimed that in contrast to the Turkish case, European theatre (farces) had no

[84] Martinovitch 1933: 32.
[85] Siyavuşgil 1941: 42-3; 1961: 10.
[86] And 1975: 14.
[87] Tietze 1977: 21, 26.

instances of cursing and swearing even before an audience of common people, let alone in the presence of the sultan; and that Abdulaziz was fond of seeing Karagöz with his large phallus each and every night.[88]

Although the performance at royal circumcisions and court festivities was institutionalized as part of the Ottoman upper-class entertainment, *karagöz* never ceased to be a folk comic genre performed in coffeehouses. Yet it cannot be fully associated with the folk culture precisely because of the fact that the figures of (peasant) Turk and folk minstrels were also ridiculed if not despised. Karagöz himself parodies and makes fun of their "coarse" language and accent. Thus, Karagöz, who is despised by Hacivat for his low cultural capital and who parodies Hacivat's pretentious high-literary language, himself mocks the ones much more unpromising and lower than himself.

Finally, the fading away of *karagöz* and its grotesque tradition by the early twentieth century had much to do with the cultural dynamics of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process as well as the frequently referred censorship in the nineteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, intellectuals came to denounce *karagöz* and *ortaoyunu* as being utterly immoral, vile and coarse. They regarded them as abject even by the standards of coffeehouses not to mention those of the salons of the elite. *Karagöz* and *ortaoyunu* were deemed "schools of immorality and sources of scandalous acts".[89] Their abomination was often accompanied by an urge for developing a Turkish "theatre" of a Western style. Contrasting the "mere fun" and "most coarse expressions" of Turkish plays with the contemplative and critical character of Western "theatre", Namık Kemal, a well-known "young Ottoman" intellectual, maintained that "they served only to incite anger among the learned and to pervert the ignorant".[90]

Thereby, the period from the late nineteenth century to the early decades of the republic witnessed a moralizing urge partly due to the modernizing elite's encoding of decency, propriety, and morality. Combined with the denial of Karagöz's grotesque character by much of the contemporary folkloristic discourses, such a denunciation and rejection of obscenities, profanities, and coarseness can be deemed symptomatic of a "civilizing process" in Elias' parlance.[91] Thus the tendency to the disintegration of European "popular-festive laughter" in modern times, observed by Bakhtin seems to have occurred in the Turkish case as well.[92] Nonetheless grotesque imagery has still persisted and made its way into modern popular culture through various comic genres including anecdotes, cartoons, and film comedies.

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[88] Kudret 1994b: 8-9.
[89] Kudret 1996a: 96.
[90] Namık Kemal 2005: 499-500.
[91] Elias 1978.
[92] Bakhtin 1968: 378, 120; 1984: 165.

KARAGÖZ TEXTS EXAMINED

Abdal Bekçi (The Silly Watchman)
Ağalık (The Rich Gentleman)
Aşçılık (The Cookery)
Bahçe (The Garden)
Bakkallık (The Grocery)
Balık (The Fishermen)
Bursalı Leyla (Leyla from Bursa)
Büyük Evlenme (The Big Wedding)
Canbazlar (The Rope Walkers)
Cazular (The Witches)
Cincilik (The Exorcist)
Çeşme (The Fountain)
Eczahane (The Pharmacy)
Ferhad ile Şirin (Ferhad and Şirin)
Hain Kahya (The Wicked Major-Domo)
Hamam (The Public Bathhouse)
Hekimlik (The doctor)
Kahve Kutusu (Coffee Box)
Kanlı Kavak (The Bloody Poplar)
Kanlı Nigar (The Bloody Nigar)
Karagöz'ün Esrar İçip Deli Olması (Karagöz, the Pot Smoker)
Kırgınlar (The Killed)
Mandıra (The Dairy Farm)
Meyhane (The Tavern)
Orman (The Forest)
Ortaklar (The Partners)
Sahte Esirci (The False Slave Trader)
Sahte Hasta (The False Patient)
Salıncak (The Swing)
Sünnet (The Circumcision)
Şairlik (The Poetry Contest)
Tahir ile Zühre (Tahir and Zühre)
Tahmis (Coffee Grinding)
Ters Evlenme (The False Bride)
Tımarhane (The Madhouse)
Yalova Sefası (A Pleasure Trip to Yalova)
Yazıcı (The Public Scribe)

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THE GYPSY-WITCH: SOCIAL-CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS, FASCINATION AND FEARS

IOAN POP-CURŞEU

ABSTRACT

This article aims to investigate a fundamental stereotype in the European mindset, that of the Gypsy-witch, with data from the Romanian culture as a starting point. The methods used come from the field of cultural anthropology, history of social representations and comparative literature. The variety of methodologies aims to decrypt the complex way in which certain Roma identity formulas were created. The first part presents a few Gypsy-witch portraits in Romanian literature (Ion Budai-Deleanu, Matei Millo, Vasile Voiculescu), trying to understand how the writers' fascination with the magical universe of the Roma operates. The second section expands the investigation framework and shows how very old xenophobic social representations are at the origin of the fascination games in art and literature. Finally, the concluding part of the text addresses how the Gypsy-witch has adapted to the mass media era and how she has managed to survive centuries of persecution and xenophobia.

Keywords: witchcraft, Roma, literature, social representations, xenophobia, Romanian culture.

1. THE GYPSY–WITCH IN ROMANIAN LITERATURE: GAMES OF FASCINATION AND FEAR

The researcher who sets out to investigate themes in the European literature from the early 19th century, in Romantic works and its ramifications in the 20th century, finds – not without surprise – that magic themes have a central role and that a strong literary motif, that of the Gypsy-witch, constantly appears in numerous works. The Gypsy-witch, with her multiple magical powers (transfiguration, divination, supernatural aggression), has fascinated artists, especially starting with the Romantic period, where we notice the general prevalence of an interest in folklore and popular beliefs, these two phenomena, the aesthetic and the general cultural one, being intimately linked, as we shall see further on. First of all, in the 19th and 20th centuries, a number of Gypsy folk tales

or folk tales referring to Gypsies, in which witchcraft plays a central role[1], were gathered or recycled in written literature. In "the Romanian cultural field" the main tale gatherer is the Transylvanian of Polish origin Heinrich von Wlislocki, who authored, among others, a book published in Berlin in 1886, *Märchen und Sagen der transsilvanischen Zigeuner*. Secondly, the fantasy of Romantic creators gave birth to memorable characters, such as the Gypsy witch Meg Merrilees, great diviner and spell maker, from Walter's Scott novel *Guy Mannering, the Astrologer* (1815)[2], the seductive Esméralda – along with "the Duke of Egypt" – in *Notre-Dame de Paris* by Victor Hugo (1831), Mérimée and Bizet's Carmen or several Gypsy fortune-tellers clad in mystery from the pages of the German poet and novelist Joseph von Eichendorff (1788-1857).

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In the Romanian culture, *Ţiganiada* [*The Gypsyad*] by Ion Budai-Deleanu (1800, 1812), is the unavoidable starting point for any analysis of the literature about Gypsies. In this "heroic comical satirical poemation" we discover a critique of superstition, ironic and made from barely dogmatic and didactic positions. In Canto V, Budai-Deleanu puts together an entire magic scenario, readable – of course – both literally and/or allegorically, in a serious and/or playful manner. Parpangel scared the Turks with the horses of the brave Arginean, but fell from the saddle in the mud and would have died without the intervention of Brânduşa, his mother, whose portrait is done in two stanzas full of flavor:

Deci Brânduşa (căci aşa pe nume
Să chiema) fiind fermecătoare,
Doară-atunci cea mai vestită-n lume,
Ce sâtirea dracii din vâltoare,
Ba cu fermecături neauzite
Oamenii strămuta în fieri şi vite.

Tot feliu-încântă ea de jivină,
Şi cumu-i vine-în minte-o preface,
Apoi descântă cât baţi în mână
Strămutatele jivini sărace,
Şi nu este feliu de măiestrie
La care-învăţată să nu fie.[3]

So Brânduşa (for that is the name
She was called) being a charmer,
Only the most well-known in the world,
Who summoned devils from the whirlpool,
Or with unheard of spells
She turned people into beasts and cattle.

All sorts of beasts she charms,
And bewitches them at her whim,
Then she enchants in the blink of an eye
The poor transformed beasts,
And there is no craft
In which she is not master.

[1] See particularly interesting elements in this respect in Aichele–Bloch 1962 (tales no. 37, 59), Vořišková 1977 (rich material from the former Czechoslovakia, especially the fairy tale *La Belle Sorcière*) or Manning-Sanders 1965 (fairy tales *Jankyn and the Witch, The Red King and the Witch*, the latter of Romanian origin). Fairy tales with witches appear to represent a special category of Roma folklore, according to http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/roma/gft/index.htm (in addition to the examples cited, see also the Romanian tale *The Prince and the Wizard* or the Polish one *The Witch*).

[2] Golden 2006: 1021–1022.

[3] The entire story can be found in Budai-Deleanu 1999: 196–202 (Canto V, stanzas 69-93). All stanza citations below come from here.

The wandering Gypsies of Budai, who wrote the first great Gypsy ethnography and ethnology treaty in the history of our culture, could not therefore have lacked a witch endowed with exceptional powers, especially that of magical transformation ("Or with unheard of spells she turned people into beasts and cattle"). In the note referring to Brânduşa's portrait, Erudiţian makes reference to Circe, who turned Ulysses' crew into pigs and other livestock in Homer's *Odyssey*. The scholarly reference strips the portrait painted by Budai-Deleanu of any credibility, because it undermines its veracity. From the very beginning, the poet appears to declare that the episode taking place before the beholder is linked to a series of historical and mentality clichés, but above all, it has its roots in a literary tradition going up to Homer, a Homer understood via the Renaissance epic (comparatists usually mention a passage from *Orlando furioso*, XLVI, about a "saggia incantatrice"[4]). Seeing that her beloved son does not return from war, Brânduşa takes two "enchanted bridles/ red, turned into yarn" (and here comes a footnote of M[itru] P[erea], according to whom "our witches from today still attribute too much power to spun and dyed woolen yarn strands", she enchants them with a few words and a magical pair of horses appears before her eyes, ready to fly:

Cum fârşi neînţelese cuvinte,
Iacă doao pregroaznice bale
Fără veste-i steteră-înainte;
Guşi avea pestricate şi foale,
Însă cu-arepi şi solzuri pe spate
Şi neşte coade lungi, cârlibate.

Puindu-le-apoi frâne de lână
Obrazui-în pulbere-o căruţă
Cu toiagu-învrâstat ce-avea-în mână,
Pe care şezând bale sumuţă
Şi iacă-n cotigă făr' de roate
Vrăjitoarea văzduhul străbate.
Bălaurii-înhămaţi zboară ca vântul
Precum striga-i mână şi-i duce.

As she uttered mysterious words,
Lo, two terrible *bale*
Without notice before her;
With spotted crops and bellows,
But with wings and scales on the back
And long, hooked tails.

Putting woolen bridles on them
Her cheek's in the dust of a cart
With the gnarled staff in her hand
She sat on it and urged the *bale*
And so in a cart without wheels
The witch flies across the sky.
The *balauri* fly like the wind
As the hag drives and takes them.

The two beings that pull the cart, the "two terrible *bale*" deserve some elucidation. In the first version of his epic (the one completed in around 1800), Budai-Deleanu, the philologist, derives the term from the Lat. *bellua* and assigns it the meaning "jivină groaznică şi necurată" ["terrible and unclean beast"], repeating the same explanation in his great *Lexicon* project. A passage from the poem *Three Brave Men*, which was part of *Ţiganiada* at the beginning of Budai-Deleanu's poetical projects, where the phrase "bala de zmeu" appears, shows that for our author, the word was synonymous with dragon[5]. The phrase used by the poet

[4] Budai-Deleanu 1999: 447 (in editor's critical notes).
[5] Ibid.

shows a good knowledge of folk language and registers in which the supernatural world was circumscribed: Ispirescu's collection of fairy tales records a similar expression, namely "the unclean zmeu, the Devil's bala" in the tale *The son without a father*. The poetic description of the *bala*, a kind of scaly serpent with wings, the tail tip twisted upwards, send to the other monster specific to Romanian folk tales, in addition to the *zmeu*: the *balaur* (a term that the poet will use again a few verses below)[6]. It is clear to anyone familiar with Greco-Roman culture that this cart drawn by monsters is reminiscent of Medea's chariot of Euripides and Seneca's plays. After having committed the unprecedented crime of killing her own children, the witch Medea escapes the wrath of Jason and the Corinthians in a chariot pulled by "bale", sent by Helios, her ancestor. A stage direction for Seneca's tragedy mentions: "*Medea is transfigured. A chariot drawn by two winged serpents falls from the sky.*"[7]

The picture of the magic flight in *Ţiganiada* would be fabulous, full of grandeur and solemnity, were it not for two footnotes taking apart on two different registries the entire vision of the writer. Erudiţian stresses that similar scenes are numerous in the works of ancient writers [i.e. Euripides and Seneca, among others, note by I. P.-C.], but that "no such things are spoken of today" (they are therefore both implausible and outside the public's taste). His observation is completed by Musofilos, who gives no informative or historical valence to Budai's story, seeing in it a pure literary delight, without consequences, in line with the specific semantics of his name (in love with the muses): "Our poet has borrowed everything from others, to make his creation more enjoyable."

Brânduşa does not find out where Parpangel is, even after going round the entire Wallachian country in her cart pulled by her *balauri*. Annoyed, she dismisses them, goes to the bottom of an inaccessible pit and invokes by magical means "many unclean spirits", asking them about the fate of her son. These spirits inform her that he is about to breathe his last breath and offer to take her to him. The Gypsy woman finds Parpangel in a deplorable state, she quickly puts him in the "magic cart" and carries him to the top of a mountain. A funny exchange of words between Idiotiseanul and Musofilos takes place here, regarding the narrative system. The former, a tributary of consecutional logic, does not understand how Parpangel could have been taken in the magic cart, since the poet had told us a little earlier how Brânduşa dismissed the two creatures, to which Musofilos answers that Budai-Deleanu did not repeat the

[6] See Taloş 2001: 192: "It is difficult to differentiate between a balaur and a zmeu. Many attestations make no difference between the two mythical beings and consider the names "balaur" and "zmeu" to be synonymous. According to some descriptions, the two were initially serpents that had not been seen by any man during their first seven years of life. At the age of seven, they sucked milk from a (black) cow and became balauri; after another seven years, the balauri grew wings and a tail; they can spit fire, meaning they became zmei. In other words, the transformation of a serpent into a zmeu is twice as long as that of a serpent into a balaur."

[7] Seneca 1966: 277.

summoning of the beasts, because he knew that "every man will understand that, as they went home with the help of spells, so could they have done here as well". The literature, properly understood only by the lover of muses, leaves room for imagination, relying on texts full of white spaces, of ruptures in the linear development of facts, of focalisations and jumps.

Parpangel is taken to the top of the mountain, where the crafty witch washes him with "nine types of water" found in a deep cave, then she makes a "bath" for him with plants with magical and curative virtues. Among them, the mandrake (*Atropa belladona*) stands out as a magic plant par excellence, ritually harvested either to bring love and prosperity or to cause hatred. On the occasion of Saint George's feast, in some regions it was common to pick mandrake. This involved ritual nudity or merely symbolic substitution of its forms. The harvested mandrake was kept throughout the year to be used to cure diseases, attract partners to the dance or in practicing marriage spells for ugly girls or old maids, spells to become rich or gain fame or spells for the propagation of milk cows. Besides gathering mandrake for positive purposes, there are many situations where mandrake is gathered "angrily" (to harm someone): the plant is cursed, beaten, dragged to the village, humiliated, so it releases all its evil energies and becomes just right to be cast between the two men, who will then begin to quarrel and even kill each other. It should be noted that only in the Romanian culture is the mandrake gathered, either for love or for hate, by human actors (in the Apuseni Mountains, for example, women often follow a full ritual nudity, or resort to symbolic substitutes, especially when mandrake is gathered for love purposes or to attract young men into the dance), while in the West it is collected with the help of a dog who dies hung by the plant. The legends of its origins are different as well. In Western Europe, it is believed that it appears from the sperm of hanged men. Regarding the magical uses of mandrake, they are very similar in all European cultural areas. In the West, mandrake has constantly been associated with black bile, melancholy and Saturn, and even with the serpent representing Satan and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (which, according to a German legend, was a giant mandrake)[8].

On the third day after she had bathed in the herb infusion, Parpangel starts to come back to life. He sees his mother again with some resentment, because, he says, if she had left him by himself, he would have seen everything in the world right "in the face" (he shows an almost suspicious propensity for initiation travels). He regains his lust for life lies when he remembers Romica and especially when Brânduşa assures him that his fiancée is alive and loves only him (she is a "young virgin"). After Parpangel recovers properly, Brânduşa puts some "spells" in some "hot pies" that force him to sleep, then she places him in "her enchanted cart" and they go back to the Gypsy camp, where they find Romica.

[8] For symbolic meanings of the mandrake in the Western world, see Mozzani 1995: 1064–1071; Le Quellec 2006.

The demonic dimension of the spells and charms is also presented in the journey to hell in Canto IX, but once again, the reading key is at least one of bookish nature, if not ironic, because all these fantasies come to Parpangel, as Criticos says, because of a fainting fit, that, "in the heat of the blood, they mumbled" some reminiscences of stories and images of the Last Judgement ("hearing many about the toils of hell and seeing hell depicted in some churches"). In the hell described by the young Gypsy, charms and spells are a kind of commodity that is sold in the market, underlining the deep commercialism of the act of witchcraft. The devils play the role of intermediaries between producers of "magical" goods and the people who want to do harm using supernatural means, thereby seeking to gather as many souls as possible for hell:

Altul strigă: „Brea! veniţi încoace
La vrăjituri evtene şi-otrave,
La fapturi mestecate-în pogace,
În turte şi-în plăcinte jilave,
Farmece de tot feliul şi vrăji
Cu-învăţătura cum să le dregi."

De-acolo dracii neguţători
Iau marfă evtenă, pă credit,
Şi-oamenilor dă rău făcători
Pre scump o vând, căci preţul tocmit
Păntru hăst feliul de marfe deşarte
Este sufletul lor după moarte.[9]

Another cries: "Hey! Come here
To cheap witchery and poisons,
Magical spells mixed in cakes
In cakes and in moist pies,
Charms of all sorts and spells
And teaching on how to mend them."

From there the demon merchants
Take cheap goods without pay,
And give it to evildoers
Too high they sell it, for the price agreed
For such useless merchandise
Is their soul after death.

The two episodes where Budai-Deleanu addresses issues of magic and witchcraft impress deeply due to the art of the montage. Mentality clichés (the Gypsy-witch) are combined with literary reminiscences (in layers, Greek and Latin classics, Ariosto), everything being strewn with folk beliefs. The poet had an impeccable knowledge of the repertoire of fantastic beings that inhabited the universe of popular magic, the specific terms of the domain, the plant lists used by witches (those with soporific, laxative effects, tranquilizers, poisons). The resulting potpourri is of extraordinary flavor, although, or perhaps exactly because, we are not tempted to give any sort of credit to the author. Everything is free, it's all in the art of bringing together heterogeneous elements that seem to have nothing in common. Ioana Em. Petrescu, commenting the unfinished poem *Three Brave Men*, taken apart from *Ţiganiada*, noticed, with her usual wisdom, how complex and ambiguous is the manner in which Budai-Deleanu relates to supernatural manifestations. The following quote from the work *Ion Budai-Deleanu and Comical Epos* seems more than illustrative as conclusion to the considerations about *Ţiganiada*:

[9] Budai-Deleanu 1999: 303–304 (Canto IX, stanzas 94–95).

> Up to a point, *the miraculous* is treated (as in *Don Quixote*) as an illusory creation of diseased imaginations, able to transform shepherdesses into fairies, dogs into *zmei* and cats into *balauri*, meaning that it is treated from a novelistic perspective. Drawn however by the miraculous magic of chivalric poems, Budai-Deleanu doubles this novelistic vision through a poetic vision of the magical universe in a local folklore variant. [...] Adept of the Enlightenment in his convictions, Budai-Deleanu however does not transform the magical miraculous into a comedy subject, as does for example Voltaire.[10]

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In continuation of the tradition of witchcraft initiated by *Ţiganiada*, we mention the first original Romanian operetta, *The Hag Hârca. Witch Operetta*, 1848, composed by Matei Millo in collaboration with Al. Flechtenmacher. The text of the "play" was published in Bucharest in 1851, at the printing house of C.A. Rosetti in a volume whose transition Cyrillic is a pleasure to decipher[11]. Lascu, "a young nobleman [*boier*]", also known as Vlad (the latter appears more often in the play), is secretly in love with the beautiful Viorica, a peasant girl (her father is named Gânju), who is just getting engaged to someone else (Bârzu, an old man). He tries to obtain her love by supernatural means, calling for the services of Hag Hârca, a "Gypsy-witch", and Chiosa, another Gypsy, Lascu's servant. Saying that she can prevent the girl from marrying Bârzu, Hârca praises her crafts in a way that should more likely warn the young nobleman: "I'm not a hag like those who join, I separate, I sow feud, I break unions, this is my craft, all the girls I take under my wing change more lovers than shirts a week" (Millo: 7-8). In Act I, Scene IX, Hârca and Chiosa are plotting to kidnap the girl, putting her to sleep despite the nobleman's opposition, but their plan fails, since – in Scene X – they argue about the profit that they will obtain from their criminal acts. Hârca gains the upper hand, telling Chiosa: "That should teach you to mess with a witch!..." (Millo: 31). In Scene XI, Vlad angrily demands that they wake Viorica. Hârca does this with a spell. Afterwards, the nobleman declares his love, posing as a protector who will bestow many gifts upon her. The girl, in full romantic candor, refuses on the grounds that he is not from the village, she does not know him as well as her fiancé (endogamous marriage, even if disproportionate and ridiculous, is preferred to the risks involved in an exogamous marriage). Faced with a refusal, Vlad addresses the Gypsy-witch: "Do something, Hârca! Enchant her!" (Millo: 37). Here – with unclean craft – two cards with earrings and a hat come out of the ground and they immediately charm the girl; she would leave with them, but just then, the wedding party and her bridesmaids appear and she again refuses to follow them. The Gypsies would steal her, but they are stopped by Vlad. When Bârzu and Gânju appear, the Gypsies pretend to be nomads and musicians and give the impression of

[10] Petrescu 1974: 183.

[11] All my citations, whose reference is given between brackets to avoid overloading footnotes, come from Millo 1851.

singing. In a rather comical scene (XII), Vlad impersonates the groom's cousin and embraces him in a fashion worthy of Caragiale, telling him that he brought the fiddlers with him as a gift, because he knows that there aren't any in those lands.

In Scene I of Act II, Chiosa encourages Hârca to "tell the fortune" and to "throw beans". She asks for "a sieve and some grains" (Millo: 52). What follows is a very interesting scene with an incantation built on the folk model: "On the hills, in the pits!/ Forty one beans! As you sprout/ As you bear fruit,/ On the hills, in the pits,/ Forty one beans./ Well you know, well you can tell,/ Well you will bewitch for me" (Millo: 53). And further on, after the intervention of the choir: "Forty one beans!/ If you fulfill what I have in mind,/ To be all odd,/ In threes and one,/ And in thirteen beans all." (Millo: 53-54). The conclusion after throwing beans is, first of all: "We shall bear a great fight with the woodman's daughter..." (Millo: 54). The beans are four and four, which means "repulsion of death". Hârca becomes terribly scared, but another throw yields three and one, predicting "triumph" (p. 54), the fall of the Romanian woman and of Lascu (in the form of "bean of the arrival", Millo: 55). Hârca then intones a sort of curse in cadences that undoubtedly had not been foreign to Bolintineanu, for his poem *Mihnea şi baba*: "You see there Gypsies/ Lo!/ My arrival bean/ Behold!/ The magic spell"[12].

In Scene III, Vlad is sad that Viorica does not want him, while the Gypsies try to console him and tell him not to cry (they even fight in order to be closer to him, in another comic intermezzo). Hârca is moved by the young man whom she "raised", therefore we know that she had also fulfilled the role of a nurse at the nobleman's court. The hag promises to make Viorica love him, for not in vain is she "the hag witch" (Millo: 61). Afterwards, she sends everybody away from that place, where the witch is to "turn" the world upside down and to "disturb" the earth: the musicians have to guard the demonic rites, so that no one may interrupt them (Millo: 62). The hag invokes the devils: "come forth, hell's hanged men", making "gestures of witchcraft around the trunk"; "the tambourine jingles, thunder is heard, – the stage grows dark, you can see lightning and a noise of chains comes from under the stage" and a choir of the demons from the underworld (Millo: 62-63). The tree trunk where Hârca has performed her invocations opens up and little devils come out running around her. She asks them about "the old Gypsy" (Millo: 63), i.e. Satan. She wants to wash the little black devils in the cauldron and turn them into angels and princes; two Gypsy women grab them and put them in the cauldron "one by one" (Millo: 64). In the end, the Gypsies take an angel out of the cauldron (Millo: 65), who is in fact Amor (Eros). Hârca requests that he shoots Viorica with an arrow, but the angel aims towards the witch, threatening her.

In fact, the angel shoots Viorica with an arrow and makes her fall in love with Vlad, who appears in Act II Scene IX looking very surprised by the love

[12] See Niculiță Voronca 1998, I: 113–114 about throwing beans, an archaic practice already mentioned in the codices of 17th–18th centuries.

declarations of the girl, but agrees to marry her after a seduction attempt without marriage. "Here, Hârca is visible in the background" as some sort of evil genius remotely supervising events. In Scene XI, Hârca and Chiosa try to prevent him, "a great nobleman" from wedding a "poor peasant girl" (Millo: 82). The witch asks him in a moving tone, throwing herself on her knees: "Is that why I caught her by the nose, is that why I brought her to you?" (Millo: 83). Her theatrical gestures and questions are merely meant to cover her evil purposes, revealed by Chiosa in aria no. 10: to prey on Vlad's "miserable condition", but also to sell his soul to the devil (Millo: 85-86). This unexpected disclosure leads to a confrontation between Hârca and Vlad: "Yes, you forgot that I am Hârca the witch, now you will not escape from of my nails" (Millo: 87). The nobleman wants to rush towards the door – the scene happens inside the house – the hag takes out "a hazel twig" with which she attacks Vlad: he instantly feels the effect of the spell and stumbles. At the beginning of Scene XII, the angel snatches "the staff" from the hag's hand and breaks it, annihilating her "power" (Millo: 87-88). He tells her that he did not let her make two souls perish, coming out of the cauldron instead of the devil she had summoned with pathos. The witch makes one last attempt to fight: she calls her wandering Gypsies by blowing into a horn three times. They come accompanied by Bârzu, whom the hag asks to promise himself to her, in order for Viorica to be his. The cheated fiancé complies, Hârca urges the Gypsies to run into the house with "clubs", at which point Chiosa comes out and urges them not to go against "a great nobleman" (Millo: 93). Chiosa, a converted moralist, after having been an ally of the witch, adds: "in vain, Hârca, it is over,/ your time is up./ See the devil, the devil comes,/ To take you down to hell" (Millo: 93–94). Hârca cries "Oh no" and "sinks" into the ground, while the atmosphere clears up and we can see Viorica and Vlad in the background, getting married by the angel (Millo: 94).

This play, whose detailed summary I felt necessary, contains – in a mixture not always successful – all the inevitable drama and romantic ideology elements. The plot, absolutely unbelievable, lies halfway between vaudeville and fairy tale, with some elements vaguely reminding of Musset (*On ne badine pas avec l'amour* – One does not play around with love). The plot construction is factual and the characters do not have any consistency or psychological veracity. The ideology, however, is even more problematic than the construction of the plot and characters. On the one hand, class differences are erased, but only between Vlad, a great nobleman, and Viorica, a woodman's girl, i.e. between "pure blood" Romanians. In a xenophobic sense, Gypsies remain Gypsies, with their eternal tasks and occupations: witchcraft, music, pilfering and last but not least "local color"! Only a few years before the historic liberation of 1856, a few words from Chiosa are enough to stop their vindictive impulses: it does not do for Gypsies to go against a nobleman. Social oppositions are backed by another one, which gives the play a cheap melodramatic touch: the village morals are pure, righteous, while in Iaşi, the

capital of Moldavia, all the indecency takes place, something that both Bârzu and Vlad (the latter has more luck, and we wonder why?) want to commit with Viorica.

What in fact saves *The Hag Hârca* from oblivion (but even in the interwar period, it was staged by the great director Ion Sava) is the good knowledge of magical practices that Millo shows: the author sees all the dramatic profit that can be obtained from exploiting folk divination on stage (throwing beans, for example) and understands that witchcraft has a demonic character that is just right to show viewers in an invocation of evil spirits done with all the ingredients: the ritual isolation, the cauldron, the versified invocation, etc. Despite the implausibility and the ideological issues that it does not discuss profoundly, the play comes alive on stage: Millo knows how to alternate comic scenes with solemn ones, prose with verse, music with moments of silence, monologues and group scenes with fast, energetic, lashing dialogues.

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Vasile Voiculescu's prose is read with great passion even today, more than half a century after it was written. In Voiculescu, magical energies[13] seem to manifest mainly in two strong directions, firstly that of erotic magic, and secondly, that of an animal magic, full of totemic reminiscences and maintaining quite a close connection to lycanthropy.

In *Shakuntala* (1949), text devoted to the life and customs of the Gypsies, there are only a few allusions to animal magic, and only to the extent that it is believed that the Roma, great tamers of wildlife (especially bears), have mastered them beyond natural means. A conversation between the narrator and the Gypsies from a camp located in the mountains brings forward old superstitions from the eternal background of magical thinking and annihilates the constraining barriers of time and space: "We talked about beasts, about magical bears stealing girls, about Gypsies turning into wolves one hour a night, about foxes that sometimes barge in on you, proving to be bewitched girls. Time passed without notice."[14]

Instead, the erotic magic dominates the scene in this long story when the narrator tells the tale of his cousin Dionysus, fallen "under the spell of a Gypsy who twisted his mind" by supernatural means. "Master of spells, she drags him behind her like a dog, day and night", according to auntie Sia, Dionysus's old nurse, and to the narrator. "Spells" are the only viable explanation that the peasant woman Sia has for the situation of the young gentleman, who went to Paris and Oxford, and therefore decides to cure her master with some "reverse spells" that the narrator will sneak into his bosom when they meet up in the mountains, where Dionysus took refuge with his new friends, the Gypsies in the camp[15].

[13] See Oprea 2003 for magic motifs in Voiculescu's works.
[14] Voiculescu 1966: 94 (*Shakuntala*).
[15] Idem: 59.

The young Gypsy woman, a ravishing beauty, has something of a *keepsake* figure, as the narrator discovers with amazement. In the evening of his arrival at Dionysus's estate, where he is to recover from a very serious illness, after finding out about the unworthy love of his cousin for Rada, he reads, in order to pass the time, an illustrated English edition of *Shakuntala*, later on finding the miniature of the "sacred virgin" of India in flesh and blood: it is exactly the girlfriend of Dionysus, for which he too shall be tormented by lust.

The passion that consumes the narrator faced with the perfect beauty of the Gypsy woman will prove to be nothing but a delusion, a fantasy game in which he is thrown by Dionysus. By turning the narrator into a double, a "Dybuk" of his, with the help of "spells and magic" of Kiva, "the witch of the camp", Dionysus seeks to relive his love in the body and soul of another, in order to verify their legitimacy and durability, but also to discover what attitudes and extreme gestures can be caused by unruly emotions. The humiliations and struggles of the narrator do not make Dionysus change his mind regarding Rada's love, whose life resembles – as the narrative goes forward – Shakuntala's story more and more, as written by Kālidāsa in the 4th-5th centuries AD. Dionysus will become a Gypsy, adopted, "by Kiva's means" by the great ruler of "powerful Gypsy camps in Hungary"[16], a descendant of Duke Michael, under whose rule the Gypsies entered Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages. He confronts, however, Rada's refusal: the girl is in love with someone else and pregnant with a "Gypsy horse thief". At the urge of the narrator, Dionysus behaves "as the god Indra" in *Shakuntala* and gives Rada her husband and child[17], then leaves to Hungary with his adoptive father to devote his life to the prosperity of Gypsies, tribes reunification and to finding a "homeland" for his forlorn people.

Blinded by Rada's charm, who proves unworthy of the high and ardent passion dedicated to her, Dionysus does not feel that Kiva loves him in the same way. Crafty in "spells" and "enchantments", in all traditional divination forms and empirical treatment, in brewing concoctions "of soothing weeds"[18], in reading "zodiac signs" and in making changes of personality, Kiva however does not meet the narrator's expectations. The portrait of the Gypsy-witch is memorable: she is fat, not thin, her hair is almost red, she has an expression of goodwill and understanding on her face, but her eyes are full of mystery and her hands are ready to make magic: "Her eyes alone give her away. Round owl eyes that scan the shadows and see in the darkness... And her small hands, with delicate and nervous fingers, disclosed all her craft."[19]

In fact, in the name of her love for Dionysus, Kiva is the one that creates the entire scenario of magical love in Voiculescu's novel. Always lurking, she

[16] Idem: 123.
[17] Idem: 128.
[18] Idem: 115.
[19] Idem: 76–77.

anticipates the coming of Dionysus in "signs" and "cards", she enchants him with the "pot" to bring him there faster, yearning for him. She is the one who fights "with charms to pass the fire of love" of Leonte and Rada, thinking that if she gives the young Gypsy to Dionysus, she will always have him with her, under magical control[20]. Her destiny is tragically fulfilled by an assumed *autodafé*, for the old witch cannot bear leaving Dionysus and chooses, just as a widow in India, to set herself on fire in the "master's" tent on top of the mountain, where no Gypsy had been accepted before, but not before setting fire to the entire camp[21]...

The Gypsy-witch has stimulated not only the creative fantasy of men of letters, but also that of filmmakers and television producers. Numerous television series and movies are based on witchcraft "scenarios" and magical rites, providing rich research material for cultural historians and anthropologists, but profoundly different from the one that traditional ethnographers work with. The Romanian series [*telenovelă*] *Inimă de ţigan* (*Gypsy Heart*), broadcast on the TV channel Pro TV, tells the story of an impossible love between a Gypsy doctor, Codruţ, and Irina, the daughter of a wealthy Romanian businessman, Gigi Dumbravă. In this narrative plot that I simplified immensely, Sulfina the witch, played by Virginia Rogin, has an important role, as she weaves many tangled threads, but also solves some complicated situations. She is the one asked for advice by Flori, the mistress of Gigi Dumbravă, she is the one Gypsies ask to ward off the evil eye, to do love or marriage spells or to undo their matrimony[22].

2. THE ORIGINS OF THE LITERARY MOTIF OF THE GYPSY-WITCH IN XENOPHOBIC SOCIO-CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS

The examples discussed in the first part of this article are strange only at first glance. In fact, for anthropologists, the history of European culture shows a constant phenomenon, namely the association of witchcraft and magic – particularly in its diabolical forms – with members of minority groups from an ethnic or social point of view: Jews in the West and Gypsies in the East. This xenophobic scheme, not to be taken as absolute (Jewish wizards exist in the East[23], just as Gypsy magicians and diviners are common in the West) overlaps with another element: the woman, on a position of social inferiority, is the one most often coming in touch with evil forces. The Jewish female magician or the Gypsy-witch represent, for the mentality of the peoples that lived in close interdependence with those ethnic groups, great constants of the imaginary, clichés in which historical realities and fantasies, visceral fears and contempt for all that is "different" and "alien" melt together.

[20] Idem: 129.
[21] Idem: 137.
[22] See www.inimadetigan.ro for more information on this series.
[23] See Oişteanu 2001 for details on the Jewish wizard, both in Eastern and Western Europe.

Undoubtedly, the social marginality of the Roma people, the fact that they spoke a mysterious, incomprehensible language, the fact that they acted according to rules incompatible with those of the populations they came in contact with, the fact that they could only superficially be Christianised, continuing to circulate a set of beliefs permeated by an almost Gnostic dualism (based on two complementary principles just as strong, *Del* – the Good, God, and *Beng* – the Evil, the Devil)[24], contributed to the formation of imaginary stereotypes attributing to them ties with the world of occult and dangerous forces. Gender, ethnic and social stereotypes, or those related to color (black being associated with the devil, therefore having negative connotation), overlapped to make Gypsy women victims of witchcraft accusations:

> It was not difficult, from the point of discovering the particular image of the life of these incorrigible nomads (a "wandering" that comes into blatant conflict with the medieval "steadiness"), to come to a *demonization* of Gypsies, a type of ethnic demonization obviously related to marginalization. Gypsies were suspected of practices inspired by the devil, for their women used to make spells, practice divination with beans or shells. Only the devil could have inspired such acts, he taught the Gypsies to cast the evil eye, to throw diseases on people, he was able to dry up the milk of cows and sheep, to bind the waters (as the *solomonari*, Romanian wizards who controlled clouds and rain) and cause drought. The step towards the accusation of witchcraft, cast upon Gypsies (especially Gypsy women), was easily made. Not incidentally, the first witch to be hanged in France in 1499, was a Gypsy woman.[25]

The first apparitions of Roma in Western Europe, in the 15th century, were marked by excommunications and punitive measures, justified by the "deviant" behavior of these wandering populations who did not integrate in any consistent socio-religious system. Their professions of choice, blacksmithing and metallurgy in general, animal training, divination, music and "pilfering" seemed to predispose them to be distrusted by the steady, disciplined populations they come in contact with. Even more so as, in the Western world, some of these occupations were already suspected of being satanic, especially that of blacksmiths, "who work in the flames of the forge, which reminds ordinary people of hell"[26]. In this regard, it is useful to briefly remind that working with metal was one of the main occupations of the Roma people[27].

The excommunication and expulsion of Gypsies under the accusation of witchcraft and vagrancy was common in the medieval world and the beginnings of the modern era[28], all around Europe, from Spain to Russia (where a pretender to the

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[24] A few significant data about the religious beliefs of Gypsies, in Rinderknecht et alii 1973: 72–87, or in Questin 2009: 17–41.

[25] Mazilu 2006: 62. About Gypsies in the Romanian Middle Ages: 60–64.

[26] Palou 1992: 15.

[27] Karl Rinderknecht et alii1973: 62, 66.

[28] Villeneuve 1973: 113–114.

throne, the False Dimitrii, was accused in the 17th century of practicing "gypsy sorcery and every kind of devilish magic [...] like Julian the Apostate who did sorcery with devils")[29]. Prince Friedrich of Saxe exiled the Gypsies, punishing them for the thefts committed and considering that this "race of vagabonds and wizards" is incapable of any social integration[30]. In southeastern today Germany, in the historical region of Bavaria, Gypsies contributed widely to the spread of beliefs in witchcraft, together with discharged soldiers[31]. In Spain, being a Morisco (i.e. a converted Muslim, before the 1609-1614 expulsion) or a Gypsy was a worsening factor when one was suspected of witchcraft[32]. During the 17th century, in the Balearic Islands, which were part of the Spanish Kingdom, Gypsies were the most active witches, because they were perceived as more talented than the local people[33].

On September 8, 1427, the Gypsies seen for the first time in the Parisian region were excommunicated by the bishop because they had done palm readings for the curious who came to contemplate on them at the chapel of Saint-Denis[34]. The *Journal of a Bourgeois of Paris* (15th century) recorded the episode, assigning the divinatory practices of the Gypsy women to a tie with the devil and making a portrait of the members of a new ethnic group, from which one can guess all the fears of the medieval human being (as Jean Delumeau describes them in *Fear in the West*):

> The women were the ugliest and blackest you could see; they were all as ugly as *the plague*, with black hair and the tail like a horse's [...], in short, they were the most miserable creatures to have been seen in France since the beginning of time. And yet, despite their poverty, there were among them witches who looked at people's hands and told each of them what had happened and what would happen; and they sowed disorder in marriages, for they told the husband: "Your wife... your wife... your wife... is unfaithful to you", and to his wife: "Your husband... your husband has been... unfaithful to you.", but what is worse is that by speaking to people through magic, through the enemy from hell or through trickery, the foreign women emptied their bags and filled theirs instead.[35]

[29] Golden 2006: 862.
[30] Cf. Hemmert & Roudène 1970: 167.
[31] Golden 2006: 422.
[32] Idem: 1057.
[33] Idem: 83.
[34] Karl Rinderknecht et alii 1973: 14–15, 72.
[35] *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1029253: „...les plus laides femmes que on pust voir, et les plus noires; touttes avoient le visage de plaie, les cheveulx noirs comme la queüe d'ung cheval [...]. Brief c'estoient plus pouvres créatures que on vit oncques venir en France de aage d'homme, et neamoins leur pouvreté en la compaignie avoit sorciercs qui regardoient ès mains des gens, et disoient ce que advenu leur estoit ou à advenir, et mirent contans (dispute) en plusieurs mariaiges; car elles disoient : *Ta femme, ta femme, ta femme t'a fait coux*; ou à la femme : *ton mari t'a fait coulpe*; et qui pis estoit, en parlant aux creatures par art magique ou autrement, ou par l'ennemy d'enfer, ou par entreget d'abilités faisoient vuide les bourses aux gens, et le mettoient en leur bourse, comme on disoit..."

The same old art of palm reading was practiced by the Gypsy women who arrived in the British Isles, at Lambeth, in 1514, which drew reprisals from religious authorities[36]. Speaking of palm reading, I cannot leave unmentioned here many works and artists from Italy, France, Holland, belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries, in which there is usually a young, seductive Gypsy woman, reading the fortune in the palm of a client, while also stealing their money pouch through various means, a scene evoking the description from the *Journal of a Bourgeois of Paris* (a tapestry of Tournai from the years 1501-1525, Jacques de Gheyn, Caravaggio – two paintings from 1596-7, Paul Bril 1603, Lionello Spada 1614-15, Bartolomeo Manfredi 1616, Simon Vouet – two paintings from 1617-1618, Valentin de Boulogne – two paintings from approx. 1620/1628, Nicolas Régnier – two paintings from 1620 to 1622/ 1625, Hendrick Avercamp, Jacob van Velsen 1631, Jacob Duck approx. 1632-1633, Georges de la Tour 1632-35, Dominicus van Tol 1639, Simon de Vos 1639, David Teniers the Younger and David Teniers II[37]).

Throughout history, Gypsies have been assigned other divinatory arts as well, especially cartomancy. It was even considered that the Tarot, the deck of 78 cards, consisting of 22 Major Arcana and 56 Minor Arcana cards, was an invention of the Gypsies, who spread it throughout Europe starting with the 14th century[38]. In the Romanian cultural space, a painting of Gh. Petraşcu, entitled *The Fortune-Teller* (1927), shows viewers a Gypsy woman sitting in front of a low table covered with reading cards; examples from European art that could add to these considerations are available to anyone.

The practice of divination (palmistry, cartomancy), of black and white magic brought them, moreover, many more serious troubles than excommunication and banishment: many Gypsies were victims of pogroms and sensational collective executions: pyres, hanging, drowning[39]. Drowning was reserved especially to women, which makes me think that in some famous cases (Haddington, 1636) the so-called ordeal by water was used, it was about the detection of witches. A woman suspected of ties with unclean forces was tied by her hands and feet, then was thrown into the water: if she floated, it was believed that she was a witch, and the executioners would take her out and burn her at the stake, and if she sunk, she was considered innocent... and removed from the water (but most often dead).

For Dimitrie Cantemir, in the early 18th century, the Gypsies represented wizards par excellence. When talking about the Roma converted to Islam, very numerous in the Turkish Kingdom, the Romanian prince installed in Russia

[36] Karl Rinderknecht et alii 1973: 16.

[37] See website http://www.larsdatter.com/romani.htm.

[38] See Hemmert & Roudène 1970: 165–177 for details on Gypsies and Tarot. Grillot de Givry 1980: 302 criticizes the hypothesis of the Gypsy origin of Tarot cards, showing that similar games were present in Europe about a century before the Roma people appeared in the West.

[39] Cf. Bussel 1919: 121–122.

emphasizes that they do not comply with any of the commands of the Prophet: "The Gypsies that convert to Muhammad considered themselves to be perfectly pious through this single title, but apart from it, they do not even seek the commandments or the law, but break them all, without obeying or respecting any law; they hold no prayers of any kind, no fasting, about Mecca they do not even want to hear; instead of alms on Pentecost, they commit six hundred kinds of theft, deceit, charms, spells and witchery (all of which are forbidden to Moslems)."[40]

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In the case of Transylvania (where the Roma have been living since 1415[41]) and Banat, the Gypsies and the Romanians have provided dominant classes and ethnic groups with a very large contingent of victims of witchcraft trials of the 16th and 17th centuries, but as Romanians became socially and politically emancipated beginning with the second half of the 18th century, the domain of illicit magic remained almost entirely under the command of the Roma people. I will provide just some clarifying examples. In Baia Mare the spectacular case of a particular Laszlo Cigany is known, a Gypsy beggar beheaded in 1664 on charges of witchcraft and fraud, while a good part of the accused women in the Dej trials in 1742, 1755, 1756, 1760, 1763, 1764 and even 1771 were Romanian women[42]. If we look to the statistical situation in the whole kingdom of Hungary, which incorporated Transylvania and the Banat at certain periods, we find that from 4.089 people accused of witchcraft between 1213 and 1800 173 were Romanians and 47 Gypsies[43]. In the same way, in the Balkans, the ruling Muslims and the subject Christians accused each other of witchcraft. But, curiously, either Muslims or dominant groups of Christians were united in accusing Gypsies and Vlachs/Aromanians (an ethnic group of Romanian origin) of black magic practices. In Eastern Bosnia, in the 1830s, two Christian women and a Gypsy were burned by the Muslim judge under the accusation of having killed children by witchcraft[44]. The punishment for witchcraft was very tuff and it remains so even today ("witches should burn"), although it is only a symbolic one. The Gypsy-witches burn in the flames of an unreal, but very dangerous fire, the fire of hell, as people can see in a contemporary fresco of the Last Judgment, located on the walls of Strungari Monastery (Alba County, Transylvania). The witch is depicted in the fresco (see illustration below) in a gypsy traditional costume, with big earrings and a necklace made of golden coins, and she holds in her left hand some divinatory cards, which served her to predict the future:

[40] Cantemir 1987: 527.
[41] Wlislocki 1998: 18.
[42] Pop-Curşeu 2013: 129–132.
[43] Golden 2006: 517–518.
[44] Idem: 85.

Géza Róheim, in his psychoanalytic studies on magic, based on observations made in the 19th century by Heinrich von Wlislocki, shows the overwhelming importance of blood in the erotic magic of Transylvanian Gypsies: Gypsy women suck blood from the little finger of unbaptized dead babies, believing that this helps with conceiving a child; they are also convinced that they can obtain the love of a man if the one who loves him mixes her blood in his food. A Gypsy woman who wants children will make an incision in her husband's left hand, between the thumb and forefinger (in what is called hell's saddle) and allows the blood to flow into a vessel. She then buries the container under a tree and takes it out after nine days, then mixes the blood with the milk of a donkey. Before falling asleep, she drinks the concoction and recites an enchantment that tells about three fairies. The first seeks the blood, the second finds it and third one converts it into a child[45].

Charles Godefrey Leland dedicates, in 1891, Chapter VIII of his very exciting work *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* to the "witchcraft and superstition" of the Romanian world in relation to those of the Gypsies, claiming – in the footsteps of researcher E. Gerard – the thesis that the superstitions of Transylvanian Romanians have three sources: indigenous, Saxon and Gypsy. Leland believes that the Gypsies, along with the peasants in Italy and Sicily, are the best keepers of certain archaic forms of shamanism and witchcraft. In Romania, it is believed that legions of devils and evil spirits surround the human being and that the only effective action against them is the conjuring action of Gypsy witches; the Eastern Church, in far greater extent than the Catholic one, tolerates these heterodox manifestations. Great charmers and spell-casters, Gypsy women enjoy huge prestige when they solve supernatural cases of illness, for which the

[45] Róheim 1988: 115–118.

traditional mentality is incapable of finding a rational explanation. Written in the spirit of the mythological way of thinking of the 19th century, *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* goes very far with its comparison, the author claiming that "Romanian mythology is on the same wavelength with that of the Gypsies [...]; it is sylvan and Indian", both peoples believing in dragons and fairies, the Mother of the Forest, savage men, dwarves and the *Iele* [spirits of the air][46].

Ethnographic data from the two extra-Carpathian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, converge with those from Transylvania and the rest of Europe, as can be seen in Hasdeu's investigations[47]. Moreover, the Romanians south or east of the Carpathians, just as the dominant ethnicities from Transylvania or from the west of the continent, assumed that the Gypsies had extraordinary skills in the field of magic and, as literacy and light spread, they tended to abandon magic altogether, saying peremptorily that "only the Gypsies do spells"[48]. Gypsy bricklayers could presumably bring and stop rain, but it was also believed that rain was brought by "two old Gypsy women" or "old settled Gypsies"[49]. This type of belief is illustrated by exemplary stories: "At a brickwork, two old Gypsy women sat for days on seven bricks, hatching them for two months, during which time it did not rain. It happened in the village of Mihai Viteazu, Ialomiţa county, in 1884. They were sued and acquitted."[50] Hasdeu's investigations also record the story of a woman who saw a werewolf at night: he had transformed from a Gypsy man (!) that had died recently, who had been a living dead[51].

3. THE GYPSY-WITCH IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD (FILM, PRINT, INTERNET) OR HOW TO PERPETUATE SOCIAL-CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS

Despite the rationalization efforts undertaken by our intellectuals for over two centuries, starting with the Transylvanian School (besides Budai-Deleanu, superstitions were also criticized by D. Ţichindeal, *Sfaturi a înţeleajerii cei sănătoase – Advice for Healthy Understanding*, 1802; Gh. Şincai, *Învăţătură firească spre surparea superştiţiei norodului – Natural Teaching to Erase People's Superstition*, 1804-1808), false beliefs have not disappeared altogether. On the contrary, even today's urban culture, which officially opposes the obscurantism of the ideas and customs of the "lower" classes, is full of reminiscences of "magical thinking", sacred scenarios disguised in profane, of the survival of the belief in the

[46] Leland 1891, Chapter VIII: sacred-texts.com.
[47] Muşlea & Bârlea 1970.
[48] Idem: 470.
[49] Idem: 476, 480.
[50] Idem: 480.
[51] Idem: 244. About the relations between Gypsies and the dead, see also Karl Rinderknecht et alii 1973: 78, 82, or Questin 2009: 77–85.

supernatural and gestures to ensure the smooth running of things, which a hasty observer can easily categorize as irrational and illogical. In the contemporary urban world, when television, soap operas and the Internet have lead to a levelling of the beliefs and practices, magic and witchcraft go well with the mass media, and the old mentality stereotypes have not disappeared, but have adapted to the new virtual realities. The Gypsy-witch, taken from the darkness of the Middle Ages or from the fantasy of authors or filmmakers, lives in these early years of the 21st century a new youth, and her new forms of expression require anthropologists to come up with a redefinition of the methodology and points of view on the research material.

Print media has many pages of classified ads, where witches of various types (from nuns to crafty Gypsy women, the latter being predominant), all of them claiming they work only in the name of the Lord and have only the intention of doing good, praise their merits in removing mercury, undoing marriages, fortune-telling (in tarot cards, coffee, crystal globes), healing incurable diseases such as epilepsy, alcoholism, impotence, depression, fear, they claim that they have "plants from the banks of India", needed to cure all kinds of diseases and so on. This phenomenon should not surprise or worry us, because it does not show any inclination towards obscurantism that is more pronounced in Romanians than in other nations: in the Western world, too, newspapers reserve wide space for similar ads, posted by members of minority population groups (those of African or Asian origin). In our country, however, it is worth mentioning an element of originality: newspapers also publish the ads of clients who received help from Gypsy-witches in difficult situations and were pleased with the results. Our specialists in magic boast that they can solve any type of case, even without seeing their client, on the phone or by e-mail, only with their surname and date of birth.

Moreover, the witches in Romania used to have a profile magazine entitled *Magia vrăjitoarelor – The Magic of Witches*, accompanied by the brand title "*Cireşica*" (a famous Gypsy-witch) and the mention of "the only witches' magazine in Romania". The magazine was edited by S.C. Cireşica SRL and I could consult twelve numbers appeared in 2002-2003, the first two years of publication, after which I lost trace of the publication. A box on the front page showed the specific powers of the witch Cireşica, granddaughter of Mother Omida (and it is known what an important symbolic meaning the transfer of power within the family has in cultural system of magic and witchcraft): "thanks to her inherited grace, she can heal epilepsy, remove mercury, undo marriages, help people in business, help companies recover, has plants against drunkenness". After this enumeration, the reader is informed about the Bucharest public transport that could take him/her to Cireşica. Another box on p. 13 no. 12/2003 contains an ad that makes you burst out laughing: "The famous witch Cireşica lives only in Buftea and can be found at the numbers 021-225422, 0744-163635. Any other person posing as Cireşica is an impostor."

The magazine included several categories of materials: some general and theoretical materials on the art of witchcraft (about "doing the spells", about meditation, about "Kabbalah", about the necessary altar for magical practices, about "occult sciences", about specific places of "witchcraft deeds", about telekinesis and telepathy, about "protective talismans", all these in no. 4/2002; about mandrake, about "the doll", about the history of magic in Prague, about the Marquis de Sade, about Swedenborg and "the invention of spiritualism", about ceremonial magic, about "the fundamental function of suggestion in magic", about "the principles of Wicca", about spells – with a few transcribed texts, all these in no. 12/2003), others with a narrative, illustrative and exemplary character.

Most often, this second category of materials contains tales about crushed destinies, broken lives, extraordinary events, but written in a columnist fashion, with an obvious inclination towards the sensational. The narratives aimed to demonstrate the beneficial powers of the witches in Cireşica's entourage, all of Roma origin, and to attract customers (Mother Lucica of Buftea, Claudia the Witch of Pantelimon, the Witch Laurenția of Vatra Nouă, etc.). Most often, the material in the magazine came in the form of letters from the readers. A few titles are illustrative enough to prevent me from summarizing the contents of the articles or to write literary and anthropological analyses: "Is someone trying to hurt me?", "Seduced and abandoned", "My friend stole my boyfriend", "Her entourage almost destroyed our family", "He divorced for me", "How to win a man?" (all these in no. 4/2002), "Waiting for a Miracle", "I cannot live without him", "Drunkenness is a serious illness", "You cannot be poor and pretentious", "I do not want to lose him", "A girl destroyed my family", "Cristina's charms separated us", "The terrible trap I fell in", "At wit's end", "My mother died because of charms", "After 17 years, he does not want me anymore" (all these in no. 12/2003). Visually speaking, the magazine relied on kitsch and strident illustration, although we cannot deny it a certain science of magic, meant to attract a wide audience.

But witchcraft and magic in the urban world of today do not limit their presence only to print media, expanding tremendously in other forms of media as well. Romanian sites contain many forums which discuss issues of witchcraft, magic, spiritism, Kabbalah, fantastic and supernatural beings, most often without the slightest trace of critical sense. It is remarkable that Gypsy-witches adapt very easily to the Internet age, many of them having personal pages or even highly functional and efficient blogs.

Grațiela Costache states on her personal website that she is "authorized and was awarded diplomas and certificates and offers palm reading, cartomancy and astrology services of the highest standards". Needless to say that diplomas and certificates were not awarded by accredited institutions of higher education, in fact we do not even find out what institutions contributed to the consecration of Grațiela. On her personal blog, Grațiela gives details about her arsenal: she practices "white magic, the vanquisher of black magic, practices astrology, cartomancy, palm reading and exorcisms through a silver cross that is engraved

and each arm of the cross has one orifice that foresees the destiny God gave man". Besides the magic cross, Grațiela also has other abilities: "With the powers she holds, she eliminates everything related to charms and curses from the first meeting, with cures and charms, plants and talismans from the Holy Sepulcher".

Witch Rodica Gheorghe, who also claims to be the "real" daughter and heir of the legendary Mother Omida, has a website since 2008, but the traffic has been modest (about 1,500 visitors in the best month). Five years ago (2009), when Rodica created a blog on vrajitoare.blogspot.com, things exploded: within 24 hours, there were over three thousand visitors, which placed her blog among the most visited in Romania. Moreover, besides her personal website and blog, Rodica also has services for fancier customers, a blog on a Wordpress platform, www.vrajitoarea-rodica.ro. Here are the services offered by the witch (in addition to the spells and dreams dictionary on the blog):

> Persons who have unexplained things happen to them and those who believe that luck has left them, the persons that want the return of the beloved, those with family separations [sic], business decline, people who want to know the future, both people who think they have problems because of charms and people with many incurable diseases, such as Epilepsy, Drunkenness, Impotence, Depression, Fear and others, people who want luck bearing and protective amulets should call with confidence and the results will be one hundred percent guaranteed.

The partial conclusion that we can draw from the above is that despite the rationalist reaction, magic and sorcery have not perished and, in terms of the ethnic groups that practice them, the Roma remained at the forefront. Witches today do not gather in secret groups such as those burned at the stake in the old days, but organize themselves in a kind of union, the *Union of Witches of Romania*. They are present in the Bucharest International Fair in the already famous Salon of Magic, where they receive visits from presidents (the episode when Ion Iliescu awarded the witches during BIF 2002 is well-known, as is the electoral support of witch Maria Câmpina for Traian Băsescu), etc. The standard profile of client who uses witch services has changed relatively little compared to the one we find in the writings of the Church Fathers or the scholars of old times: only confused people, without a solid social base, who lose their moral and religious landmarks, enlist the services of witches. Changing the *media* for providing "services" (television, Internet, mobile telephones) makes the punishment of the imposters much more difficult, if not impossible. Contemporary witches enrich themselves at the expense of the gullible and build villas with underground garages for the luxury cars they own. Therefore, the Gypsy-witch did not die after so many centuries of xenophobia and persecution, but has become transfigured, showing an amazing adaptive capacity and living a new youth with the help of print media, television and the Internet. So, the story of xenophobia and fascination is not reaching yet to an end![52]

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WINE QUEENS: INDIVIDUAL AND CULTURAL BRAND MANAGEMENT PROCESS

MOJCA RAMŠAK

ABSTRACT

The rituals connected with the wine queens draw on similar events in Germany and France; otherwise the earliest reports date back to the beginning of the 20th century in the United States of America and to the 19th century in Croatia. Apart from the Wine Queens institution, the recognition of the Wine King (associated with the Cviček fine wine variety) also exists in Slovenia although, unlike the wine queens, it is not his general and indirect knowledge of wine, physical appearance or communication skills that are evaluated, but rather the quality of the wine of that region that has largely economic significance. Other branches of the food industry also choose their queens, who promote the existing brands in Slovene output, while the tourism industry also confers queenly titles. Inauguration of wine queens from anthropological and ethnographical perspectives of gender is a form of enactment of culture, which may include: parades, carnivals, formal celebrations, national and international wine competitions, fairs and other public events. In addition, the enthronement of wine queens is also a form of enactment of social rituals, visual codes, dress codes, use of make-up, forms of expression of competitiveness towards other candidates, submitting to the jury and the management of protocol behaviour. Contrary to the assertion of the organisers of such contests that their principal aim is the promotion of wine and drinking culture, this article places them within the realm of beauty pageants.

Keywords: wine queen, wine marketing, ethnography, invented tradition.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY

Wine Queens are a contemporary marketing phenomenon, which spread throughout Slovenia with the expansion of viticulture in the years prior to and following independence in 1991. Essentially, it is intended to enhance the recognisability of wines, spread the wine-drinking culture, and preserve the old and create new rituals connected with wine. On the other hand, however, women in the role of wine queens with their manifestation and ritual ceremonies have emerged from the background of this largely male industry, where they had been obliged traditionally to remain on the side, although they played a crucial labour role.

By 2013, at least forty royal titles were bestowed in Slovenia, mostly in relation to food and drink. Nearly half of these titles went to wine queens. Even though organisers usually claim that such local contests are truly original and the result of their own creative efforts, it is safe to say that in Slovenia the institution of the wine queen sprouted from a foreign seed. This so-called invented tradition, or an invention of tradition after a foreign model, is based on the concept of beauty pageants, and on the fear that despite its increasing quality and production, wine will eventually be edged out by other, more fashionable alcoholic beverages.

Most of the Slovene traditions associated with wine queens have been newly invented, mainly during the period after Slovenia's independence in 1991. This indicates that at that time there was an increased need for greater social cohesion and for belonging to a shared Slovene identity associated with the new Slovene state and with Slovenian heritage in general. The invented tradition of the wine queen, which likely comes from German-speaking countries, has evolved rather haphazardly. Initially organised by local initiatives, it was largely the result of the lack of any joint promotion of small-scale wine growers. Over the years, as the tradition has become well established and the title of the wine queen has acquired a certain prestige, such coronation rituals multiplied. The number of wine queens of Slovenia has increased in proportion with the march of capitalist values and with the needs of the newly rich who have emerged after Slovenia's independence. The winegrowers feel the need to further develop the image of the wine queen, which is indicated by a number of additional activities that support the institution of the wine queen but are only superficially based on the Slovene heritage. The heritage as a mere secondary component in the many rituals and events related to the wine queen has been largely replaced by modern requirements of the winemaking business and marketing, in particular the marketing of wine as a conspicuous commodity. Although the wine queens identify with their newly-acquired identity of promoters of wine and the wine-drinking culture, and are frequently in the spotlight during their term of office, they cannot transcend their role of a visual prop with very little public influence. Once they hand their crown to their successors even that influence vanishes. In view of the veritable multitude of coronations of wine highnesses in Slovenia, the critical voices of experts have abated. As a result, the prevalent attitude toward Slovene viticultural heritage is permeated with tawdriness; notions of the national identity are frequently false; perception of the wine queens largely sexist; and wine kingdoms too large.

In order to understand the social-cultural role of wine queens we need to know: what women are allowed to join the competitions or selections and for what reasons; what beliefs and what experiences do they have; how, where and when wine queen selections are performed; who pays them and who expects to benefit from them? Within the answers to these questions in specific social-historical circumstances lie the answer to how wine queens and other queens of harvest are situated between representation and consumption, and how they become symbols of identity, like Triglav, Bled Island, potica nut roll and kurent.

After independence in 1991 Slovene winegrowers and winemakers started to emphasize their identity by creating various honorary wine institutions, which in some other wine regions go back to the early 20th century. The first local wine queen – Queen of Teran – was crowned in 1979 in former Yugoslavia and after that the other local titles were granted elsewhere. In 1995 the coronation of the first Wine Queen of Slovenia was held in Vipava upon the foreign, mostly German and Austrian examples. In Ljutomer, where the first Slovene Wine Growing society was founded in 1872, Wine Queen of Ljutomer was crowned in 1986; in Svečina the first Wine Queen of Svečina was crowned in 1987. In the same period other winegrowers in certain districts or in wine growing areas also crowned their queens, princesses and kings. In 1992 Novo mesto granted a title to the Cviček King for the first time; Maribor won the Queen of Maribor Wine Growing Region in 1996, the titles of Wine Queen of Radgona-Kapela Hills, Princess of Cviček and Ambassador of Cviček were awarded in 1999; since 2005 Ptuj has its Wine Queen of Ptuj; from 2006 to 2008 there was The Queen of Wine Zelén and in 2009 she was renamed in Vipava Wine Queen; since 2008 the new titles were awarded to the Wine Queen of Slovene Istria, Wine Queen of Metliška Črnina; Wine Queen of Kog; and Wine Queen of Cerkvenjak.

The mandate of the Wine Queen of Slovenia and other regional or local wine queens last one year, except in the case of Styria and Prekmurje wine queens (Queen of Maribor Wine Growing Region, Wine Queen of Radgona-Kapela Hills, Wine Queen of Ptuj, Wine Queen of Kog, Wine Queen of Cerkvenjak, Wine Queen of Prekmurje), where the title lasts two years. The Wine Queen of Svečina, however, must also be married or living in a consensual union and her husband becomes the keeper of the Svečina village vine with her election. Marital status is not a limitation for Prekmurje Wine Queens. Wine queens can be elected several times; they can be local, regional as well as national (e.g. The Wine Queen of Slovenia). The regions with the most wine queens overlap with the wine growing areas in the northeastern, western and southern Slovenia, with the exception of non-wine growing areas.

At the same time, some local associations that take care of the educational, social and cultural life and adaptation to new circumstances in the field of agriculture also organise contemporary festivals celebrating nature and those that cultivate it. One such municipality with twenty years of granting crowns is Juršinci in Prlekija, where girls received honorary queen's titles from 1993 to 2012 in events called Autumn Thanking: Queen of the Autumn, Queen of Bread, Queen of Wine, Queen of Fruit, Queen of Cheese, Queen of Poultry, Queen of Agriculture, Queen of Flowers, Queen of Housewives, Queen of Wine, Queen of Music, Queen of Hearts, Queen of Horses, Queen of Hospitality and Tourism, Queen of Nature and the Hunters, Queen of Custom, Queen of Honey, Queen of Water, Queen of Castle, Queen of Slovene Hills and Queen of the Queens.

Later, the rest of the Slovenia tourist associations, public or private tourism agencies bestowed yet other titles. For example: *Queen of Cherries* in Šmartno and

Dobrovo in Gorizia Hills (since 2009, before that it was *Miss Cherry* – cherry blossom) and in Lower Carniola (since 2000), *Pumpkin Queen* in Lipovci near Beltinci (since 2010), *Queen of Woodenware* in Ribnica (since 2011), *Queen of Bograč* in Lendava (since 2011). The food industry has engaged with *Honey Queens* in Gornja Radgona (2009) and *Dairy Queens* of Slovene brands (e.g., Green Valley Slovenia, since 2008), which promote the regular consumption of dairy products, raise awareness about the importance of healthy eating, promote the consumption of milk and dairy products, warn of the dangers of buying milk and milk products and raise the quality of Slovene milk, free of genetically modified organisms.

In addition to the queen's wine names the cellar of Vinakoper introduced the names of the godfather and godmother of native grape varieties of Istrian Malvasia and Refosco at St. Martin's day in 1998. These wines get every year a new godmother, a wine lover who comes from business, hospitality, media, culture or music. All of the above and similar queen's titles have been introduced to promote tourism awareness and brand recognition.

SYMBOLIC INVENTORY OF WINE QUEENS

The inauguration of wine queens from the perspective of anthropology and ethnography of gender is a form of enactment of culture, which may include: parades, carnivals, formal celebrations, national and international wine competitions, fairs and other public events. In addition, the enthronement of wine queens is also a form of enactment of social rituals, visual codes, dress codes, use of make-up, forms of expression of competitiveness towards other candidates, submitting to the jury and the management of protocol behaviour. In order to be better acquainted with functions of wine and other queens, I acquired the personal views on the 'reign' of nine queens and princesses from different parts of Slovenia in 2012 and 2013. In addition, I have read their published diaries or reports, and visited the spring or autumn events several times, where they either choose a new wine queen or she played a key role in the cultural program.

In the initiation ritual of wine queens their material inventory is a very important component. This, with minor variations consist of: gold crown or diadem with motifs of grapes and vine leaves, sometimes with coat-of-arms (as in the case of the Austrian Wine Queen), which is a symbol of power; sash (which can be in the colours of the national flag), ring, gown or/and coat, queen's throne (for example, in selecting the Wine Queen of Slovenia), queen's key (in Juršinci), queen's wine, a flag (for example, with motifs of apples and grapes in Svečina), vinicultural scissors (for husbands or partners of wine queens in Svečina), queen's escort, for example page boys. Material inventory of wine queens does not always contain all these elements, it depends on queen's ingenuity, the financial capability of sponsors, the length of the title awarding, attributing importance to the tradition of the event, and other circumstances.

Invented traditions that have shaped, formally introduced and adapted the main characters of the wine queens, princesses and kings, are closely related to the need for new local, regional and national identities, which appeared in defining time at the end of the 20th century and quickly established themselves as a part of the new Slovene identity, which is certainly linked to the creation of the country.

The time wine queens spend on their costumographic image shows that the selection of queens also has, in addition to marketing and educational functions, sexual dimensions. Through their material inventory, new social roles and the rules, that, except in exceptional cases (e.g. Wine Queen of Svečina, Wine Queen of Prekmurje and the Queen of Woodenware in Ribnica), allows to get into the selection only unmarried young women. We sense that adornment can also mean that they place themselves on approval with a hope to find a suitable husband. An attractive appearance is an important factor in the selection of wine queens. They have to attach their photo to the application, which is also helpful in identifying candidates in the exam. It appears that the selection of wine queens has a ritualistic role in the life cycle of the girls that are associated with wine, and that a rite of passage is almost impossible without attractiveness. Selection of wine queens as a rite of passage marks the transition from one status (or phase) to another. It is not a transition from girlhood to womanhood, but more a transition from the state with fewer social roles and responsibilities to the situation where the wine queen takes many new roles in a year or two of her reign. Since alcohol is very important element in many cultural rituals, it also coincides materially and symbolically with wine queens rituals. On the other hand the beauty and alcohol are a formula for social drinking, which aim is sometimes directly connected with flirtation and sex. Wine queens are, in fact, the new priestess of Bacchus, who raise up the fantasy of sexual availability – real or imagined.

The symbolism of the material is also in the conceptual foundations of clothing image of wine queens and in their way of make-up and hairstyles. The gowns of wine queens are a metaphor for their sexual and moral status, where the eroticism of covered body and accented women's curves are mixed with a decent, but attractive and sexy manner. Metaphors relating to the wine queen costumes at the coronation are playing with colours, shapes and materials, and thus try to influence the response, mood, perception and imagination of the observer. The colours of the wine queens' gowns are the same as colours of wine they represent: red and white or burgundy, purple, beige, yellow, or greenish shades. Materials are shiny and rarely dim. The length and tight shapes of festive dresses redolent on wine glass or bottle of wine; they also symbolise a female figure. Decorations on the dress illustrate aromas of wine queen's wine, such as fragrance and flavour, which can be tasted only sensory.

Similar metaphors can be attributed to the hairstyle of wine queens, where hair tied up together symbolize the seriousness, while loose and curled hair symbolizes playfulness, which can be compared with a heavy wine, or one that need some time to be animated in a glass, and light, maybe a bit sweeter wine.

Make-up, which is part of the costumographic image of the wine queen, is associated with certain social codes that allow the wine queen to access the secondary benefits, such as power, prestige, sex appeal and increased self-confidence. Photographic comparison of ways of the make-up of contemporary wine queens with queens from past decades and from different countries reflects the global trend from more to less make-up, from the noticeable make-up techniques to those more concealed ones. Metaphorically it can mean three things: a return to the nature and to a healthy and environmentally-conscious society; the message on a well-kept young woman who gets a new prominent role in the society, which increases her self-esteem and reputation; and internalization of not quite exceeded excessive paternalism above the morality of artificial girls.

Type of cosmetics, cosmetician, make-up artist, hairdresser and dressmaker also illustrate the importance of a new temporary social status of the wine queen. Information on cosmetic products and services are often exchanged on social networks or in person, and become part of wine queens' identity even after they have handed over the crown to their successors. A higher grade the wine queen in the hierarchy has – on the scale from local, regional and national – more emphasis she places on her physical appearance. Senior queens, married queens, the queens with children – where the selection's rules allow – and the former queens, who had long ago handed over the crown, devote less time to exchange beauty tips. For them beauty is not the central preoccupation, because they've already lived their experience of being exposed and graded for their beauty together with their knowledge on wine. Those queens that have already specified the visual appearance that suits them best and that supports their communication skills repeat it at the similar wine events. Finally, the metaphor of the whole image of the wine queen potentially bears the last hidden message, namely that the wine queen is ready for consumption, like the wine she represents. It is associated with the ritual of transformation that is certainly well personified through the character of the wine queen. It is not only the transition from adolescence to young woman and the period when the young woman is more visible in her roles, but it is also the transition into the period of becoming a sexually desirable woman.

The dimension of the whole costumographic metaphors of wine queens is always culturally specific; sometimes elements, from which it may be inferred on national identity, climatic conditions, etc., are added, but we can rarely deduce out of these elements any individual characteristics of the wine queen. Even the wine queen must represent a sample of beauty and femininity, which applies to normal in her environment, and not her beliefs that deviate from this. Initially, some Slovene wine queens arrange the dress, the crown, etc. by themselves and according to their own feelings, but eventually their image becomes an important side business at the coronation of wine and other queens. Wine queens are a more cultural than individual brand, which is represented through intangible, imagined assessments connected mostly with national, regional and local identity and gender

roles. Personal branding of wine queens emphasizes their attitude, character and communication skills. Cultural and personal branding of wine queens are sources by which others box them into categories: she's beautiful, she's witty, she has working moral, etc.

WHAT MAKES A WINE QUEEN AND WHAT A WINE KING?

In addition to the institute of the wine queen, there is also a title for the Cviček King, which is awarded since 1992 in the context of the Week of Cviček event each May, in Novo Mesto. Unlike the wine queens, it is not his general and indirect knowledge of wine, physical appearance, age or communication skills that are evaluated, but rather the quality of the last year's Cviček of Lower Carniola region. The King of Cviček can be only the winegrower from this region with the best rated Cviček from the last vintage. Therefore the title The King of Cviček is an award for the quality work and has economic significance, especially if the winegrower lives only from the wine sale. It's interesting that the first title for The King of Cviček was won by a woman in 1992, and then again for the second time in 1996, but she did not get the nomination The Queen of Cviček. Besides her only one other woman won this title, in 2004.

Besides The King of Cviček there is an award for The Ambassador of Cviček, since 1999, who must also prove himself in an economic sense, for example if he puts Cviček on a higher level like produce Cviček's champagne. There was also one woman among The Ambassadors of Cviček, namely in 2002. The jury selects The Princess of Cviček, which is also awarded since 1999, similarly than other wine queens with regards to her knowledge on Cviček and the Cviček region, and on the base of her persuasiveness and impression on the jury. All three awards: The King of Cviček, The Ambassador of Cviček and The Princess of Cviček constitute the Cviček Court, whose mission is the promotion of Cviček.

FEELING OF SUPERIORITY, EXCLUSIVITY AND ELITISM: WINE QUEEN'S WINE

Economic sight that must be shown by the kings of Cviček in their district can be also shown by other actual wine queens with protocol Wine Queen's Wine. It is the wine that is in a year or two of the wine queen's reign, her dearest, and she presents it in protocol-educational or patriotic purposes on different events. The Wine Queen's Wine is a marketing niche for smaller winegrowers who lack the sources for mass advertising. Besides the top-notch quality it must also have the symbolic and cultural value, which is mostly shown in fantasy name, stylish wrap, price and prestige because of the connection with wine queens. The Wine Queen's Wine is a luxury good that reflects the increased need for the distinguishing consummation and self-confirmation what gives the consumers the feeling of

superiority, exclusivity and elitism. The Wine Queen's Wines also build their identity on the feelings of national loyalty and local patriotism. The Wine Queen's Wine is a marketing niche addressing mostly female drinkers, because they most likely identify with the story, events in wine kingdom, lifestyles of wine queens, the wrapping of the bottle and the selection of wine than men do. Besides that, having a marketing niche in the Wine Queen's Wine means that it will be noticed by more wine snobs, because it is known that the name and wrapping influence the taste, and consequentially also the price. If the same wine is offered under the name "Wine from the domestic cellar" or "Wine Queen's Wine" we would find out how the form essentially affects the perception of people who don't know much about the wine, but they would like to look like "the connoisseurs".

Special ritual, connected to Wine Queen's Wine is the "Dive for the Wine", which started in 2010 when the Wine Queen of Slovenia dove for the first time, to get the champagne from Wine Cellar of Gorizia Hills, in the eight meters deep pool Krčnik (under the natural stone bridge made by the rapid river Kožbanjšček). The champagne had excellent conditions for maturing, and so the special champagne and trademark was born. In 2011 the wine queens 2010 and 2011 dove again to get the wine and the divers submerged Metliška Črnina into the pool. Some others, especially Styrian winegrowers, stared to experimentally mature their champagne selections on the bottom of the Piran bay or in the river Mura and thus produce special trademarks.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WINE QUEENS AND BEAUTY QUEENS

Differences and proximities between wine queens, other queens of crops and products and beauty queens testify about the characteristics of local identities, and therefore the interpretation of visual representations is not of trivial importance. Queen candidates became a part of popular culture that tells us a lot about the power structures, gender roles, and national identity. Selections for the queens of anything with idealised representations of women are calling for clarification. On the one hand it seems that in the national or local selections of queens it's all about the selection of female beauty, but it is about much more than about the beauty title winners. Selections of the queens are rituals through which we tell stories about ourselves, they are the spectacle that is under the spotlight of the media and is involved in a specific time, culture, social meanings and consumption.

Various local pageants in the United States occurred in the 1920s, although the first modern pageant was back in 1854. In particular, beauty pageants in a swimsuit have been popular, because they publicly revealed the female body and caused excitement and panic at the same time. The promotion of beauty pageants in the 1920s helped the growing film, photographic and newspaper industry. Most of the world-famous beauty contests originate in the 1950s and later (e.g., Miss of the World 1951, Miss Universe 1952, Miss International 1960), from which it has

developed a full range of beauty pageants. The fashion, cosmetics, nutritional and surgical industries supported the idea that girls and women are rated especially for physical beauty. During this time there were also pageants in various agricultural industries and fast food restaurants, for example in 1956, Dairy Queen Beauty Contest and Miss Rodeo America, in 1965, Pumpkin Queen, etc. Every year around the world about three-quarters of a million women participate in various beauty pageants, from the Miss Potato Blossom in Maine, USA, to the Miss Landmine in Angola, the Rattlesnake Charmer Queen in Texas or the Miss Philippines Transgender. In beauty contests, the ideologies of gender, cultural perceptions of beauty and femininity, strategic and even political use of the beauty and power of ideology within which they operate are provided by the sponsors or by candidates themselves, and are clearly visible. Beauty pageants promote a certain type of beauty, narrow the conception of diversity and reduce opportunities for individual expression.

Even the advertising of wine with female figures belongs to the early 20th century. Japanese poster for red Akadama Port Wine allegedly from 1907 is the first known marketing example where the wine was advertised by a half-naked woman. This poster, which propagated European wine and made it Japanese, is one of the most spectacular examples of advertising in Japan. In the poster's picture there is a woman of Caucasian appearance, which does not look very Japanese, she is lascivious-sensual, has a half-open mouth, partly showing her teeth, and holding a glass of red wine in hand.

Shows and festivals at which wine queens are elected and celebrated are also events where carefully selected foodstuffs and drinks are displayed for tasting, also showing local and national identity, which attracts tourists to smaller and otherwise rarely visited locations. Those identity symbols are transferred from the private or family sphere or events, such as baptism, weddings, funerals, birthdays, family reunions, holidays etc., into the public sphere, which symbolically links the past with the present, privacy with openness to the world. The semiotics of the events at which the wine queen titles are awarded are orientated towards conferring and confirming local identity with unconcealed economic and also frequent religious interests, where sexualised young wine queens legitimately join the circle of church figureheads (e.g. in the ritual of wine blessing or participation of a priest in the folklore program). This is a game of manipulation with food and wine as with important identity symbols, and the phenomenon of the wine queen adds a third sensual element. Her public image is a costumographic and the dramaturgical manipulation of personal, familial, local-patriotic and national identity. She is supposed to address foreign visitors with her beauty, knowledge on wines, refinement, different skills and expertness; for the locals she represents a congruity of tradition and the contemporary challenges of the economy.

According to the candidates and the assertions of the organisers, the selection of wine queens is not the same as the selection of beauty queens. In the selection of

wine queens in addition to the visual appeal the commission also takes into account the candidate's knowledge, language skills, and excellent communication skills. Wine and other queens as well as organisers of the queen's award emphasize that the selection is not about beauty, but it is about spreading the drinking culture and consuming the Slovene food products.

Irrespective of this, the media consistently present wine queens as only beautiful (e.g. "Green-White Miss" for the Dairy Queen), and also among the wine growers the selections of wine queens are sometimes referred to as a "trend of the selection of wine beauties". The reasons for the belief that the selections of wine and other queens anchored in our consciousness as the selections of wine beauties are multidimensional. The concept of the selection of queens which is done upon the model of the construction of women's competition and voyeurism, certainly urges us to think this way. This involves sexualised and eroticised young women; the entire iconography of beauty contests is in conjunction with the promotion of national identity.

COMMERCIALISATION AND PORNIFICATION OF YOUNG WOMEN WITH THE STATUS OF WINE QUEENS

Photos in the media and sponsorship photos of wine queens testify that the best intentions of the organisers can many times turn into the exploitation of girls' image for promotional purposes. Projects of the selection of wine queens, especially at the local level, are often prepared with the lack of critical attitude and imagination. Given that Slovenia has so many wine queens at the local level and that the need to invent new queen's titles continues to grow, it is clear that the reputation and the promotional weight of wine queens fall. The only queen with great visibility is the Wine Queen of Slovenia. Sometimes it happens that the girls at the local level do not want to run for queens' titles and the wine producers need to dream up new terms and conditions for them. Frequently they raise the age limit for candidates and eliminate single status as a criterion for candidacy. In some cases the wine queen is delegated by some local wine man committee that comes unannounced to her home and in a seemingly ceremonial way imparts her new responsibility, which is then confirmed in a public coronation. Sometimes local winemakers choose only between two or three registered candidates, but it also happens that only one candidate signs in. Sublime advertising through the brand of wine and other queens is the least sophisticated in the case of the Pumpkin Queen and the Queen of Woodenware, probably because fewer candidates compete for these titles with no age limit and because the events are still young (the first was held in 2010 in Lipovci and the second in 2011 in Ribnica). The Pumpkin Queen has also more a carnival than aesthetic appearance; the Queen of Woodenware has no special costume.

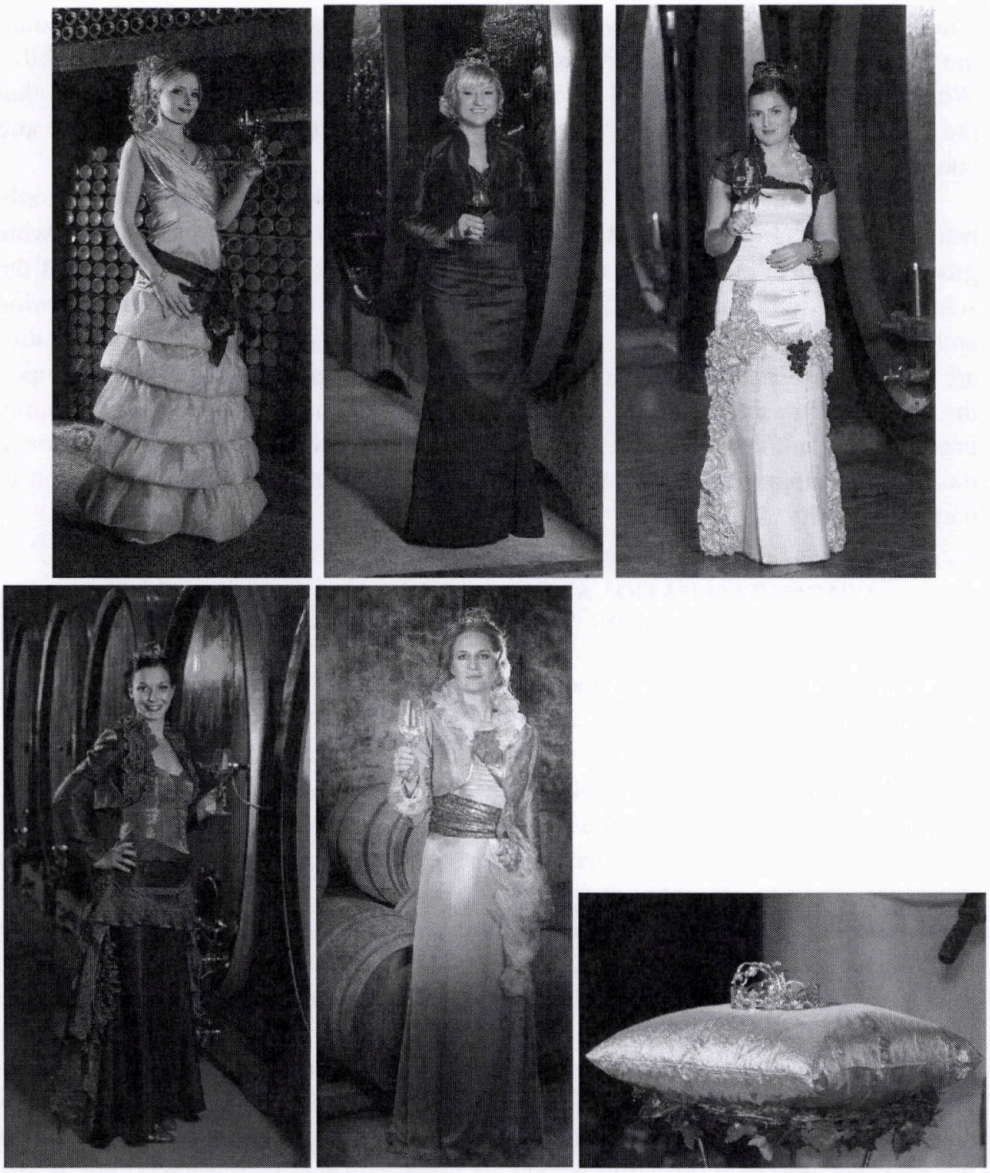

Fig. 1 – The Wine Queens of Slovenia (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014) and their crown. Source: The archives of Pomurski sejem d.d., Gornja Radgona (permission granted).

A small number of registered candidates for local selection of queens today testify not only about the lack of candidates and persistence at any price in the new promotional rituals, but also about the cautionary approach of the girls. Girls, from whom the nomination expects the considerable knowledge and independence, do not want to fall into the mill of a selection of local miss because they consider it as

offensive, undervalued, kitschy and imbecile, especially if they are familiar with the tragicomic image of local disputes, resentment and scandals. A lot of girls are aware that the promotion of wine or other products must be more imaginative and of better quality than the one that is met in some local wine and other selections of the queens. On the other hand, there are also girls who do not mind if there is only one registered candidate, which then becomes a queen, because they need an experience of media exposure and visibility in shaping their personalities.

Fig. 2 – The throne of Wine Queens of Slovenia, designed by Slovene architect Janez Suhadolc and painted with wine motives by Leon Belušič. Source: Polanc Govekar–Suhadolc 2009 (journal's permission granted).

Some selected queens mostly unwittingly consent to media images. They present them in a subordinate, passive body language, photographed from the top, from a position of the power of the photographer or in the stylised poses on the farm or vineyard, preferably with a long ceremonial dress and other belonging decoration, beside a sponsorship car, on the football field in full ceremonial dress and high heels. This puts them in the position of an object, which attracts the gazes, arouses libido, etc. The wine queens aesthetic images, for example in long shiny festive dress with a crown on the head or with sash over the shoulder and across the chest at work in the vineyard or wine cellar, predominates over the images of the same tasks in everyday clothing.

Objectivisation of the female body in advertising is problematic, because it changes women into things without their own desires, feelings and preferences. Objects have no opinion and they only have to agree. If anyone wants them they can obtain them, their value is determined by men. An objectivised woman is an object for someone, mostly for a heterosexual man. Sex is 'sold' with the presentation of conventionally attractive and sexually available women. Her own sexual desires and unique personality are irrelevant. Based on the advertising of wine queens we could say that the advertising of wine and its cultural drinking is more aimed at men, since wine queens are used as a means to attract sexual attention, and the connection with the subject of advertising is low. The dynamics of power in the ritual of coronation of wine queen follow the logic of power of men who crown, award, have important speeches, hand gifts from the sponsors and, on the other hand, submissiveness and passivity of women who receive a crown, listen, accept gifts. Wine queens are changed into marketing messages that are symbolically oriented and who communicate through their image the social meanings, and only secondarily try to satisfy the consumers' desire for the wine. The more the wine queen is stylised and aestheticised, the less she is connected with her specific wine and winery awareness-raising function. In this way, the entire image of wine queens becomes the advertising of a lifestyle where wine consumption through identification with female characters becomes a social spectacle, combined with youth, beauty and cultivated drinking of wine. With the indirect character of the wine marketing the wine queens get the possibility to attract attention in the information-saturated media landscape. The manner in which the essence of advertising – selling wine – is presented with the image of the wine queen, concerns not only gender roles, but also speaks to our understanding of relationships, a sense of fulfilment, friendship, success, traditions, identities, roles of work, personal autonomy, taste, and much more. Wine queens don't sell only wine; they also sell the social-cultural meanings. The worst rivalry of wine marketers are not the other producers, but those who do not consume the wine or only occasionally, and those who prefer to drink more fashionable alcoholic beverages. Therefore, the wine marketing attempts to persuade to drink more wine through the character of a wine queen. The potential targeted audience favours the

idea of getting together in scenic, glamorous gala events with a club atmosphere of degustation, where drinking wine is a special experience.

Identification with the figure of the wine queen encourages women to idealise its character and comprehend the female body in a way where the working strong woman's body is ousted from the image and replaced by the omnipresent ideal slim body. Furthermore, it is not uncommon to see a representative image of the wine queen in evening dress and a crown on the tractor or at various forms of farm work. This is an ingenious recycling of the sexualisation of young women who are placed next to agricultural machinery and the eroticisation of heavy physical, predominantly male labour in agriculture.

The image of the wine queen contributes to the consumption of goods associated with the transformation and training of the body, as it is evident from the sponsorship gifts received by some of the queens. It is difficult to say that the donated fitness equipment reminds us of the wine queen's primary function of promoting cultural drinking of Slovene wines. It more reminds us that the identity of the wine queen candidates meets the prevailing norms of seductive women, ranging from sexually attractive to a decent code of conduct.

From the media, sponsorship and self-images of wine queens we can see the desirable physical practices of self-control, orientated to slim shape, relevant decorations and ultimately determined posture and gestures. Wine queens are the prey of the nutritional, cosmetic and fashion industries, without which they would not be able to keep the body practices of self-control, the expected image and the 'royal' worship. Agricultural industries are cleverly trying to promote the beauty of women, which, at least apparently, they put on the side of knowledge, social skills and self-confidence. Although wine queens and some organisers generally enclose from the objectification of wine queens as sexual objects and even their use for promotional purposes, the media have continued to add sexually explicit and tabloid contents and vulgarize wine queens by which they increase the readership and the profit to winegrowers.

The organisers of the contests of queens' titles in viticulture should also consider the composition of the commissions that choose wine queens. At least half of the auditors should be women, especially because it is obvious that they target the male market. Now the ratio at most events is in the benefit of men. Thus, the wine queens would play perhaps less time the role of the decorations of wine marketing and more on the function of the actual promoters of wine and drinking culture.

The institution of wine queen selection as a format comes from elsewhere. The appealing look of the candidates is important, because it derived from the wine beauty contests. Its subsequent discrimination against women is in fact that the wine queen appears only as an unpaid volunteer, but rarely as a professional, who has enough knowledge and independence to carry out promotional activities.

Media machismo and misogyny with hidden or directly offensive and patronizing articulations strengthen this situation. Unpaid and charity work of the wine queen derives from the concept of so-called domestic work, within which it sits between the relational work and the consumer work. With this, wine queens deal with the emotions of others (e.g. educate young people how to drink wine), the organization of wine consumption, learn to manage communications with the institutions involved in the production, manufacture and distribution of wine (for example, presentations at wine fairs and other events). The wine queens' work remains unpaid, because it is defined as a social honour. Unpaid work is partly compensated by the access to certain goods: wine queen, after the expiry of the mandate can buy the sponsoring car at a good price; ceremonial dress remains in her permanent ownership; similar is with some gifts from sponsors, for example sports equipment; on the symbolic level she has a network of people she met in her queen's career and later she can take advantage of the newly acquired connections and interactions, advance in her career, find new or better mates, friends, lovers, etc. Such opportunities should naturally nourish her fantasies or ambitions. Wine queens generally accept the unpaid work as a fact. The unpaid work for the primary function of the wine queens, that is education and the promotion of culture of drinking wine and wine regions, joins the other unpaid functions that promote cosmetic and fashion industry. Wine queens themselves also disseminate information about the skills of their beauticians, hairdressers or stylists who prepare them for the wine events and they even consider it as a matter of prestige. Wine queens have apparently entered into the public sphere with their unpaid work and insufficient awareness of the fact that wine capitalism strengthens on their shoulders, what is a questionable prospect for the emancipation of women in rural areas.

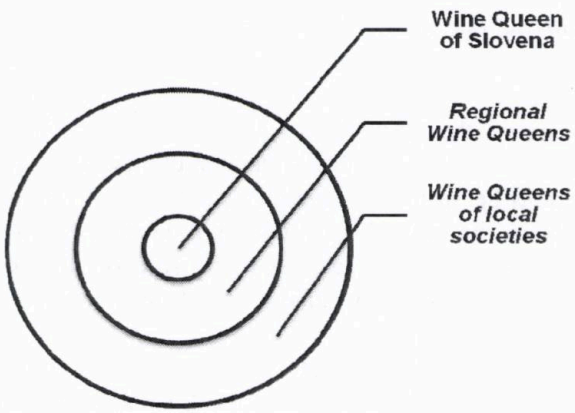

Fig. 3 – Diagram of Wine Queen's titles in Slovenia. Local wine queens can get a national title, Wine Queen of Slovenia, and vice versa. It is not necessary to be first elected to the lower title. Source: Mojca Ramšak.

The wine queens' aesthetic image in some way reinforces the traditional female identity, where singleness is expected to be a transitional phase in their life course what is stated also in the regulations of the granting of the queens' titles. New functions and networking, which is brought by the victory on the selection of the queen, should open up girls' gateway to the world, but it is used and abused by the idea of bringing profit to the wine industry. All other desired attributes which are beyond the beauty, like knowledge, communication skills, etc., are indirectly advertised as advanced aspects of selection, but they have no intention to remain a permanent alternative. Representation of staying single of the candidates, where the girl has the opportunity of getting to know herself and getting experience is abundantly highlighted in the media with the descriptions of candidate's other activities such as studies, hobbies, work and the participation in various organizations independent of a potential partner. However all these activities are annulled in the expectation that this is only the period of preparation for the subsequent relationship with a man; the aestheticised image will forever remember her of the period when she was the wine queen.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Taking all the above considerations regarding the award of the women's queen titles in agriculture, the question remains whether these selections in any way actually benefit women and empower them. It is well known that the role and extent of women's involvement in the agricultural sector are successful if women can largely decide themselves on agricultural production (sole or joint decision making as well as autonomy in wine production); if they have access and the ability to make decisions about resources (such as land, equipment, consumer durables, and credit); if they have control over income and expenditures; if they have the leadership roles in the community (active membership in economic or social groups and comfort in speaking in public); and if their power is proportional to the power of men. It may be said that the only significant progress in the selection of wine and other queens of agricultural activities is that young women have acquired more public exposure and better opportunities of speaking in public, but even this is mostly of a protocol nature. Very few wine queens actually own land, a vineyard, or agricultural machinery for the production of wine. In the absence of these key elements, in particular the autonomy of agricultural production and ownership of resources, such contests unfortunately cannot bring any progress in any of these points. Also the public speaking which seems to be one of the obvious benefits of wine queen contests is directed by others, mostly men.

A question needs to be raised whether enthronements of wine queens, which require a great deal of effort and expenses for all involved, and that in the long run do not yield any significant profit, truly and sufficiently popularize all that is being promoted by the wine queens, namely the wine drinking culture and normal, non-

problematic enjoyment of alcohol, particularly among the young. The Slovene statistics on excessive drinking of teenagers and young adults are becoming more and more alarming, since more and more youngsters become alcohol addicted. Perhaps the organizers of the wine queen contest disregarded the fact that cultural and social aspects of consuming the alcohol are associated with values, attitudes and beliefs, which young people may not easily identify through the figures, etiquette and ritual practices of wine queens. More attention should be paid on the defining the drinking situations, the role of social integration, bonding, ritual roles, the gender and social status of a particular group, class or even the nationality of young drinkers. Perhaps then the wine queens' roles as the guardians of social propriety and self-control would come more to light. So far they have been successful mostly in the function of mascots who sell wine. Therefore, from the standpoint of wine producers and wine sellers, they perform their task as unpaid force excellently. Decreasing of drinking alcohol, which is closely connected with promoting of cultural drinking, is not really in the focus of wine producers at all.

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Personal testimonies of nine wine queens and princesses from Dragovič, Gabrnik and Senčak near Juršinci, Cerkvenjak, Svečina, Špičnik near Svečina, Studenec near Sevnica, and Brestovica near Komen, acquired in 2012 and 2013.

FORMS, STRUCTURES, AND SOCIAL MEANINGS OF URBAN DWELLINGS: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF BUCHAREST

BOGDAN SUDITU, AUREL GHEORGHILAŞ, MARIANA NAE, ALINA MARECI

ABSTRACT

The notion of house or home has multiple meanings; it is a socio-spatial entity, a psycho-social one and it exists within a social space. It configures and defines a space for specific activities. House is a geographic term which should be associated with private space. The following article aims to extend the contribution to the literature about geography of housing. Identifying the forms, structures and meanings of houses, which configure and unveil both the Bucharest places and spaces, implies an interpretative approach, which reveals the *habitus* and the metaphors: the manorial house, *Curtea Domnească*, as a power and authority representation, the boyar house, as an affirmation of social class and life style, the poor house in the *mahala* as a symbol of mundane and periphery. Like a traveller, we draw a map of houses and home meanings, because the map is a narrative, and depending on itinerary, it is an Odyssey (Calvino, 1986). Based on historical readings and interpretative approach of Bucharest's urban landscape, we intend to emphasize the social meanings and built-up-features of the medieval and modern Bucharest housing.

Keywords: urban housing, urban ethnography, home, meanings, cultural landscape, Bucharest.

HOUSES AND HOMES: GEOGRAPHICAL CULTURAL MEANINGS

Both notions of house and home constitute a complex field for the expertise of several social sciences (anthropology, geography, architecture, history, etc.), and each of them provides a specific definition to the concepts. It has different meanings and it means different things to different people. Decoding these significances needs to enroll itself in an objective path between generalization and specificity[1]. Neither the physical structure of a house nor the built in urban environment can be understood in the sense of a "home". But when such spaces

[1] Doyle 1992: 791.

gain significances and meanings they acquire the sense of a "home" or a "place". "In understanding a person's connection with their home, then, we go some way towards understanding their social relations, their psychology and their emotions and we can begin to understand their *lived experiences*"[2]. Perhaps, the house as a home hasn't been quite studied by geographers, when talking about on spatiality in large geographic scale, Stazak (2001) pointed out that geographers, in fact, seemed to be uncomfortable when they worked with small scale.

A house can also adopt the role of residence. Residence is a geographic term associated with idea of private space. Geographically, the term of residence has been studied within the matrix of relations between power, space, place and identity (social and cultural geography, geography of globalization). The structuralist and phenomenological perspectives helped and inspired geographers to define and interpret geographical spaces and places as being *topophilia*[3]. From the human geography point of view, Tuan is interested in geographies of homes. Private and intimate space is strictly related to the affirmation of self and the home and the hearth represent two poles of the geographic being[4]. The domestic architecture of a house, the interior separation of its functions, the role objects and domestic everyday actions have represented occurring themes of cultural geographers[5]. A house generates by means of its features a different degree of attraction for the inhabitants of a city or town, because it is the fundamental landmark for individuals' needs, social and economic position and location within the residential cycle, permanently adapting to a family's lifestyle and features.

Housing and its central element around which the issue of this concept is built – the house – have influenced and were influenced by the social and economic development of each era. Forms and types of housing from previous time periods are a direct reflection of the economic relations between social groups and the geographical space they occupied and organized, as well as the territorial relationships between the structures of urban society.

A house has two somewhat complementing dimensions: *imaginative* (home) and *material* (building). The material dimension is objectified by an actual space, the status of property and the economic value. The *imaginative* dimension of a home is expressed through emotions, feelings and shared experiences. An appropriated house becomes a home. It is a space of power relations, which holds personal and family aspirations. "By focusing on the home as a site of constancy, forming a spatial context in which day to day routines are performed, and a site where people feel in control, the emotive aspect of home is closely connected with power: the home starts by bringing some space under control. Phenomenological approach focuses on the individual's feelings of value, caring, and security; and

[2] Easthope 2004: 135.
[3] Tuan 1977.
[4] Tuan 1996.
[5] Floyd 2004, Duncan and Lambert 2003, Blunt and Varley 2004, Blunt 2005.

memories and dreams"[6]. It is a space assimilated with family and personal life style. The notion of home also implies the dimension of private intimate space which is usually a closed one, totally opposite to public space, which is an open one. The concepts of intimacy, security and identity are recognized as such when establishing the significance of home and they are integrated in the expression "home, sweet home"; they imply spatial-temporality and rituals, "a domestic space transformed from a simple container to a home-place, subjectively lived and imbued with meanings"[7].

The interior (domestic) space of a home is anthropogenic, differentiated and classified, macrocosmic and microcosmic[8]; it is simultaneously object and subject, signified and signifier, similar to a large scale geographical space that guides us to understanding a civilization, a society or a city's historical geography. Home represents an important place of affirmation that shapes socio-cultural identities. Housing and community are inherently connected, both of them positioning the social actors and contributing to the stabilizing of social identity; they are visible signs or group identity[9].

The *material* dimension is given by the concrete space, the ownership status and the economic value. A house is an ensemble of rooms where a group of people, that can be or not connected to one another, live, forming together a household. As such a house becomes a functional unit where space organizing meets the society's time specific cultural norms. But its dimension, form and internal organization, and comfort level are correlated to the population structure and social and economic level. It can be single-family house if it is inhabited solely by the members of one family, a couple and their children (thus forming the nuclei of the family) and ultimately their descendants. It can be occupied by more people forming multiple family nuclei bounded by kinship relations or simply by multiple isolated individuals. The latter instance is known as *cohabitation*[10]. It can be an economic asset[11] having an: *use value* related to the private space of a person/family, and relationships between humans and places and an *exchange value*, when the house is offered for sale on the real estate market.

Likewise, the concept of home can have a more accurate meaning than that of a room, as a physical unit identified as a rural or urban house together with its outbuildings. A number of characteristics define a house: *type* (individual house, apartment within a block), *dimension* (surface, number of rooms), *age* (construction date), *comfort elements* (running water, bathroom, toilet and heating), *occupancy rate, grouping patterns, density, occupancy status* (property, renting, available free), *type of financing*, etc.

[6] Peil 2009: 182.
[7] Cristoforetti et al. 2011: 3.
[8] Stazak 2001: 344.
[9] Hummon 1989.
[10] Merlin and Choay 1998: 381.
[11] Harvey 1972.

The two dimensions of a home are embedded in the matrix of every day and social practices, offering side by side housing and residential landscapes, "in which identities are produced and performed in practical, material and repetitively reaffirming ways"[12].

Urban landscapes are identified and interpreted in specific significances and values. They deal with visual, virtual and sensory landscapes (*sensescapes*[13]) altering between immateriality and virtuality. Images provided by various buildings, heritage houses, houses with outstanding architectural style create specific individual memories, forming visual landscapes, as cultural representation imbued with the place or city history. Likewise, different worlds are disclosed by their metaphors[14].

From the perspective of structural cultural geography, a landscape is an interpretation or lecture of space. "The landscape is a text, inseparable from the person who contemplates the space"[15]. Streets, houses and town squares are historical spaces and places of exceptional events. Houses and squares have an important symbolic value and are subject to collective perceptions; they are "pieces of territory, endowed with historicity, identity and relational and symbolic qualities"[16]. Landscape of homes is kind of cultural production and its forms and meanings should be reckoned in terms of cultural contexts associated with them.

A social group creates and maintains itself by – a system of significances along a period of time, unveiling geographical identity of surrounding spaces and places. The cultural geographical speech constructs and communicates a *savoir* of places and landscapes; a crucial role in its capacity of transporting significances, places, objects and subjects and establishing semantically relationships was held by the metaphor[17].

The meanings of homes are interrelated to cultural and historical representations as well as geographic spaces that intertwine or overlap; both spaces of centrality and marginality coexist, where social distances are virtually modified: from the manorial house, as a power and authority representation, the boyar house, as an affirmation of social class and life style to the poor house in the *mahala*, as a symbol of poverty, mundane and periphery.

One of the geographical perspectives of geographies of homes aims to interpret the residential landscapes. Cultural residential landscapes represent a form of cultural negotiation between the representation of the past and the imagination of the future. A city, a neighbourhood, a street may be like a book, in that it must always be read and interpreted. A space, an object, a home can have different

[12] Duncan and Lambert 2003: 387.
[13] Tuan 1993, Soini 2001, Mavromatidis, 2012.
[14] Demeritt 1994.
[15] Corbin 2001:11.
[16] Levy 2008: 65.
[17] Brosseau 1997: 292.

meanings, and, as well as texts, they can be interpreted differently, and most of the times, subjectively. "Landscape and public space take time, and pedagogy. In fact, the landscape is an art time, as well as the space[18].

BUCHAREST RESIDENTIAL PALIMPSEST

Cities, depending on their age and demographic size, are genuine palimpsests. Houses have played and continue to play one of the most relevant roles in the evolution of cities and in determining their character; these features are emphasized not only by their quantitative and qualitative contribution to the built in environment but also by their quality of (eye) witnesses to the daily life of past, present and future generations[19]. The successive overlapping in evolutionary stages within the city's built in space of different buildings, streets and squares, factories and workshops, of socio-residential structures and significances, of economic and demographic crisis and explosions, lead to a mosaic that is relevant for the city`s history and social geography. Geographic space is produced and reproduced as well as the neighbourhood.

The punctual conservation of the old housing patterns enables us to understand the urban social life, the socio-spatial transformations that happened over time and the way territorial practices changed as well as the status of the dominating vs. dominated population groups.

The Bucharest urban palimpsest was created by the imbrications within the city heart of urban components constructed successively starting with the XV century and continuing in the following centuries until the present time. This urban palimpsest translated here and there as functional urban zoning and socio-residential specialization of the city of Bucharest is the cumulated result of succeeding phases of building, modelling or demolishing of built in elements such as buildings, streets, lots, neighbourhoods and the social structures associated with them.

Even if "in Bucharest, the princely palaces, monasteries and mansions were turned into ashes and ruins, three to four times each century, without leaving any traces of their existence or event their size"[20], the Bucharest urban palimpsest conserves elements dating from the previous eras: the Bucharest Voivodal Court (*CurteaVeche* – The Old Court) and the first alleys around the Dâmbovița ford (XV century); numerous churches in the vicinity of the Old Court, the Main Line (Lipscani area) and others surrounding it (XVI century); chaotic streetscapes located in the commercial centre around the royal palace and the expanding slums, but also the marking of the first segment of *Mogoşoaia Bridge* (nowadays, Calea Victoriei) (XVII century); churches, urban textures, typical housings for different

[18] Besse 2010: 285.
[19] Crişan 2004.
[20] Lahovary 1898: 696.

social categories – the merchant houses at 33 Calea Şerban Vodă, 22 Spătarului str., the mansion of Dudescu boyars on Ilioara street, the Brâncoveanu family palace and the Ghica family palace, etc. (the XVIII century). The XIX century is still well represented through churches, neighbourhoods and urban textures, houses reflecting all social categories of the city, from old palaces and mansions, to houses belonging to the poorer of them living in the former *mahalale* around the city centre, to artisans' houses situated in commercial areas or at the cross roads towards the city's outskirts. Recognizable from this century are the streets arrangements and urban projects that overlap with the former *mahala* (parcelling of Mavrogheni, Grammond neighbourhood or the Haussmann avenues – Regina Elisabeta, Regele Carol, Regele Ferdinand etc.), but also the methodical expansion of the city through parks, and parcelling of the city's peripheral areas.

The XX century comes to disturb the entire existing urban fabric by diversifying the urban ideological models of house and urban space construction, but conserving still many past elements. During a first stage part of the city is demolished in order to trace the north-south axis, and the city centre, under the pressure of the economic vitality of the first decades will be remodelled and increase in terms of density and height. Communism introduces collective living. The new blocks of flats are located on lands obtained by demolitions in order to enlarge and pave reference avenues or squares (*Piaţa Palatului*) as well as to build pavilion type neighbourhoods of poor architecture value (former villages embedded administratively during the '20) from the peripheral areas. Within the large residential ensembles, we can frequently find former streetscapes of these old demolished villages (Militari, Dristor, Berceni) or just houses that have survived in between the blocks of flats. During the '80 with the construction in Bucharest of the Civic Centre, an urban restoration project which overlaps with the south-central part of the city, a significant part of its surface is destroyed, and in turn leads to the profound change of the urban landscape and its components but also to the surviving, behind the new blocks of isolated islands belonging to "the old Bucharest".

Each historical period has had its specific architecture and diverse building structure; streets covered functions and dimensions suitable for the needs of the time, and the city structure was adapted to the urban society pattern that it had to serve. Most of the times, under the pressure of new demands for space, construction weaknesses or new orientations in urban economy, during one time period the new houses or urban structures replaced, partially or completely, the previous ones.

Identifying the forms, structures and meanings of houses, which configure and unveil both places and spaces in Bucharest, implies an interpretative approach, revealing the *habitus* and metaphors: the manorial house, *Curtea Domnească*, as a power and authority representation, the boyar house, as an affirmation of social class and life style, the poor house in the *mahala* as a symbol of mundane and periphery.

INITIAL CONTEXT OF BUILDING THE RESIDENTIAL LANDSCAPE IN BUCHAREST

The Bucharest socio-residential reality needs to be understood through the housing features of each of the historical ages the society of this city traversed. Soon after, when Bucharest went through urban transformations, all such novelties and expansions were inserted within the pre-existing, pre-urban fabric, without being entirely transformed (as it happened today). Bucharest developed slowly starting with the Dâmbovița ford and the Royal Court.

The structuring elements of the social life and urban construction were land ownership and the ever changing role of the urban decision making actors: church, ruling princes, and the grand boyars. The life of ordinary people and the evolution of constructions in Bucharest in the pre-modern period were shaped by the customs and laws specific to each century. Because in its beginnings, the city didn't have walls that would limit the concentration of its buildings and inhabitants and implicitly its altitudinal development, Bucharest constantly extended with each new inhabitant building at the margins of the city a house with large garden, outbuildings, a courtyard with poultry and animals, thus living in Bucharest as if in the countryside. The extensive empty areas within the city's boundaries in the beginning of the XVIth century were comprised of the "royal domains" which the local lords gave to kindred boyars and especially churches and monasteries under the form of feudal gifts as whole cities or parts of it.

In the XVIIth century, most sales transactions were represented of vacant areas where houses and shops could be built. In the second half of the XVIIIth century these types of sales decreased as many of the boyars that received such areas as feudal gifts or inheritances didn't own them anymore, as they sold them or, in turn, gave them away. During this century churches and monasteries owed considerable undeveloped urban areas in Bucharest (*maidan*), either purchased or gifts made by lord or boyars. But, according to church law, these domains couldn't be sold; they could only be rented for the construction of stores and houses. Peripheral *mahalale* were constructed on such *maidan* because parts of estates or entire estates around Bucharest were monastic property: Cotroceni, RaduluiVodă, Mihai Vodă, Sf. Ion Mare, Sărindar, Sf. Ecaterina, Văcărești, Mitropolia, etc.[21]. Construction regulations were essentially allowing anybody to establish their household where they wanted at the expense of building a future city following alignment rules or any type of coherent plan[22].

The capital-city and other commercial centres became attractive to all social categories because of its power status and diversification of activities. In the interest of participating to the political life of the feudal state of Valachia, more and more boyars gravitated towards an urban life and move to Bucharest from the

[21] Ionescu 1902: 108.
[22] Damé 1906: 325.

provinces and built or rented residencies in order to be close to the power circles. During the XVIII century, under the influence of the Turkish-Phanariot and French *savoir-vivre,* when the luxury of the Bucharest Court underwent a big impetus, the city was chosen as the winter residence for the leading classes. As such "with the approach of the cold winter days, when life in the countryside became fierce and unpleasant, the boyars were making their way towards Bucharest, where each of them had their own house, where to spend the long winter nights, in the company to the urban society and constant entertainment"[23].

Economic and social changes that came with the Kuciuk Kainarji Peace Treaty (1774) lead to the gradual transformation of Bucharest into a true regional economic and political centre, with effects such as population growth and expansion of the city built in area[24]. Starting with Alexandru Ipsilanti (1774-1782, 1796-1797), who was interested in promoting the civil welfare, a proper urban policy is established by implementing his political program that stipulated that the local lords had the obligation to worry about the beautification of the cities. These founding principles of an urban real estate sector lead to a socio-functional structure of Bucharest's territory along the XVIIth and XIXth centuries. The extension of the areas comprising lordly and townsmen residences was done mainly starting with Dâmbovița ford towards the north, northeast and eastern parts of the city; merchants and craftsmen were located in the centre and along the access roads to this area, while south of Mitropolie's Hill and Dâmbovița's old riverbed were areas occupied by monastic servants and beggars. All around the city there were expanding *mahalale* (inhabited by poor population which was occupied in activities relating to agriculture or relating to carrying for the courts of wealthier classes) which were constantly pushed outwards by the development of the town core.

Under the influence of the Phanariot reigns Bucharest's society transforms once again, the most powerful effects were those of a social nature especially with changes in structure and diversity of the ethnical composition of the *élite* classes. The same effect is seen in the residential meanings with changes of the manners the houses are constructed and spatial logic of locating the boyar residencies and the *mahalale*.

MANORIAL HOUSES AND COURTYARDS IN THE CITY

The aspect and terminology of the manorial and boyar houses will evolve along the development of Bucharest city in terms of dimension, functions and influence governing constructions patterns, and they will always be social and residential landmarks for locating the houses of the other categories of urban dwellers. As such the most important and impressive, both in terms of scale and architectural value, as well as exterior decoration and interior furnishing, was the

[23] Jänecke 1932: 70.
[24] Căzan 1992.

central house of a *manorial courtyard*. The same term also distinguished the administrative, household and military unit that the lords would implement in the middle of their most important domain, thus conveying onto it a strategic position. The lords built, extended and renovated the manorial courtyards in the capital, situated in strategic areas of the city, while also owning courtyards on their main estates, which were located on direct access routes between different important cities. In Bucharest, the notion of *manorial housing* ("case domneşti") designated in the XVIIth century a construction without fortifications, from the Cantacuzino or Brâncoveanu or Ghica courtyards ensemble (photo 1). It was only in 1702 under the Italian and Transylvanian influence and with the insertion of late Renaissance and baroque elements, particularly in term of decoration styles, that the Italian term of "palat/palace" is introduced as it appears in the stone inscription of the luxurious "brâncovenesc" style residence in Mogoşoaia. Corina Nicolescu (1979), in an attempt to classify feudal Romanian households according to their usage function, found that their evolution towards the status of palace, thought as a stand-alone building-reception and entertainment residence, starts relatively late compared to the rest of Europe, namely in the second half of the XVIIth century. Also, the notion of "curte/court" signifying a house and household of a manorial estate was referred to, starting with the XVIIIth century, as a "conac/ mansion"[25].

Photo 1 – The Ghica Tei Palace, nobility residence situated at the time in the middle of a park located outside Bucharest (Doamna Ghica str.).

[25] Nicolescu 1979: 14–16.

Until the XVIIth century, most of the largest manorial houses were situated in the vicinity of the Dâmbovița banks[26]. The existence of a lot more mansions in Bucharest is documented especially during Șerban Cantacuzino (1640-1688) and Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714) when the city's main thoroughfare was the *Mogoşoaia Bridge* where the most luxurious residences were located, due to Brâncoveanu offering these lots with the beginning of his reign to the most important noble families[27].

The Mogoşoaia Bridge, road that Brâncoveanu cut across the lands owned by his political adversaries, in order to connect the Royal Court to his residence outside the city, in Mogoşoaia, quickly becomes Bucharest's main road and a symbol of social urban residential prestige. Along this new road the boyars started building more and more stone house. Initially first rank boyars had built large manors consisting of a main house, and courtyards with orchards and vineyards on the lands they acquired, inherited or received as gifts from the lord of the land. François Recordon in *Lettres sur la Valachie*, cited by Gh. Crutzescu (1943) indicated that in Bucharest the manors of all major boyars had large courtyards and the dimensions and architecture "of their housings are indicators for the nature of the owners".

In these early development stages, the city had a scattered residential structure, with isolated buildings, that couldn't be considered imposing because of the surrounding walls and abundant vegetation or simply due to their reduced dimensions. The isolated buildings were connected with representative civil buildings – the lord's and nobilities' houses as well as the merchants and rich traders' houses – but also in relation to the churches, monasteries or inns where caravans would lodge in Bucharest. As such it is these buildings distributed all over the urban area that transpose Bucharest's urban feature in contrast with the diffuse, scattered and shabby *mahalale* located outside the city.

A dwelling functions as a reference point for the three existence planes of an individual – the physical one, the social one and the temporal one – and is perceived as such by its user/owner as well as the other members of the community[28].

At the time, greater and lesser boyars, wealthy merchants, significant officials, some heads of the church and some educators, would place their houses, distinguished in style and architecture by the period's symbols, in the close vicinity of the political power centre, but also on their properties set throughout the entire surface of the city[29].

The previous urban house usually had its main facade facing south and always towards the courtyard, with the outbuildings always being built apart from the main house. Regardless of family social status the household was organized similarly to a country mansion, peasant house, typically having four rooms,

[26] Lahovary 1898: 696.
[27] Nicolescu 1979: 52.
[28] Derer 2003: 386.
[29] Vossen 2007: 78–81.

approximately square and relatively equal in size, arranged symmetrically on both sides of a central elongated area which was the transversal axis of the house and the connecting space between the rooms[30]. Contrasting the multitude wooden house belonging to the common people, the boyars and the wealthier classes had flamboyant houses and households with large cellars, a low ground level where the servants lived and worked and an elevated floor intended for owners, which have large spacious rooms and an open porch that provided shelter during the summer months and it doubled as an observation and control point of all courtyard activities. The houses were located in the middle of large yards, they had vegetable gardens, and towards the backyards alongside orchards and overshadowing trees, flower or furrows were planted. Gardens are always set off in relation to their surroundings and are well suited to carry out ontological tasks[31].

The design of the nobleman households were all built following the same pattern and were fenced with high oak palisades or with thick walls made out of several layers or bricks[32].

Towards the end of the XVIIIth century and the beginning of the next, the number of large noble courtyards starts to decrease. In the same century, apart from a strong influence coming from Istanbul which materialized in decorating the exterior walls with arcades, club shaped windows and enclosed balconies that stretched outside the body of the house, another change was the orientation of the house, with the main facade including a gazebo or porch supported by columns was now facing the courtyard[33]. The shape and aspect of the courtyards also changed, as they were now divided into lots as a result of selling or inheritance purposes. The available lands once included in these noblemen domains which were previously occupied by shacks belonging to servers or slaves, were now sold to wealthy people who in turn build new houses on them. This phenomenon occurred regularly throughout the feudal and modern period. Equally the power, financial and social relations within the Romanian society changed. Over the next centuries the importance in the political and economic life of the above mentioned families will reflect in the placement and dimensions of the Bucharest residency of its members.

THE MODERNIZATION OF BUCHAREST HOUSING AND SOCIETY

The XVIIIth century represented a crossroad moment for the Bucharest urban architecture which developed under a strong oriental Balkan type influence. The era itself was marked by a lack of consistency due to the Russian-Turkish wars which were fought on Romanian soil, the frequent changes of the ruling lords coming from Phanar all of whom resonated in the built in environment who

[30] Crişan 2004: 88.
[31] Ringmar 2013.
[32] Vossen 2007: 82–83.
[33] Mucenic 1999.

showed contradictions between traditional and modern elements with the latter ones originating in West or Istanbul. While during the first Turkish-Phanariot regime, the urban landscape and features of noblemen and merchants' houses were strongly influenced by Turkish fashion from Istanbul; in the beginning of the XIXth century the manner in which houses were being built followed other influences provided by the context of the new capitalist relationships and a strong modernization current[34].

Corina Nicolescu (1979) signalled the fact that in the third decade of the XIXth century under Russian influence first the Moldavian and later on in Walachian nobleman and merchants gradually started building their houses in a neoclassical style which represented the first contact with new forms of western architecture. After 1821, the post-Phanariot regime period translated into a first period of calmness and tranquillity for Bucharest, which encouraged more and more nobleman to settle in the city and also lead to the erecting of the first luxury houses constructed following the western architectural designs which were located along or in the close vicinity of the Mogoşoaia Bridge: Damaris House, Şuţu Palace, Stirbey Palace, Mihalache Palace Ghica, Romanit Palace, Manu House, Lenş-Vernescu House, etc.

Under the influence of western and eastern foreign contacts – we mustn't forget that French mirrored society that the Wallachian nobleman created developed as a direct result of Russian officers stationed in Bucharest during the Organic Regulation – well organized mansions are built in the centre of city which were "beautifully maintained, almost all of them had a little garden, buildings for rent belonging to wealthy merchants of other prosperous citizens, even having shops, when built on roads that had vacant lots where people's crafts or trades could be performed." The political and economic transformations also reflect on the urban housing construction. Urban constructions are booming, generally in the form of modest houses belonging to the newly small and middle bourgeois class. Construction of nobleman mansions rises spectacularly especially after Bucharest is designated the capital city of the United Principalities, when Moldavian and Wallachian noblemen felt the need to also own a house in the capital.

The other houses, located in the peripheral *mahala*, were "five or six bodies of houses crowded without any type of regulation; frail and stunted, always poorly or not at all maintained; with more souls than would be due living in a promiscuous guilt"[35].

In accordance with the political and cultural influences, the new urban residencies of the noble families were designed initially by foreign architects and afterwards by Romanian architects schooled abroad. More and more young representatives of the noble and bourgeoisie families build their new houses with architectural models that followed the fashion of the western countries they were

[34] Zănescu 1997.
[35] Costescu 2004: 123–124.

sent to study in, with iron railings and two front gates courtyards, on the lots they inherited or instead of the old family house; these houses had platforms, frontal pergola flowers and were slightly separated from the road. The courtyards, without being significantly large, were organized and planted by experienced gardeners and in their most distant part, far away from the road, the barn and sheds which the crews maintaining these households needed were located (photo 2). Germanic architectural elements introduced by the royal family to their Cotroceni and Sinaia residencies will also influence the architecture of Bucharest's houses at the time. The mansions that have up to now area good measurement of the owner's social status and the social meanings of the neighbourhood, and are a relevant indicator for understanding the social significance of the houses for each of the eras in which they were built. The residential Bucharest landscape followed the patterns of its own social transformations and was marked by the constructive and organizational vision of the new *élite* classes.

Photo 2 – Residence of the industrial Assan family
(house typical for the great Romanian bourgeoisie).

FROM GREAT BOURGEOISIE' RESIDENCE TO MIDDLE CLASS HOUSES – LIFESTYLE, COMFORT AND SOCIAL EMBLEM

The elements that the elite introduced are appropriated and adapted by the other urban dwellers within the confines of their financial resources and acquired taste. While during the previous decades large house were rare and were only constructed for representatives of the high nobility class and successful bourgeois

entrepreneurs most of the manors "hôtels particuliers" are now being constructed and followed the French architectural example with abundant ornaments, "à la Mansard" roofs and stone and wrought iron fencing. Each of them was surrounded by very well organized courtyards and outbuildings fully adapted to the immediate needs of the owners: storage houses, stables and secondary buildings for housing the in-house staff. Subsequently the introduction of the car gradually replaces the horse and carriage, and the stables are transformed into garages without affecting the courtyard or household annexes organization.

The residences of the new bourgeoisie will appear in between the noblemen' mansions with their favourite location being the old central lots of the great boyar houses and extending through special parcelling especially towards the northern part of the city. As we mentioned above following the western fashion, *manors* "hôtels particuliers" as well as large *villa* are erected, they have classical and modern architectural elements, isolated and located inside a relatively large lot withdrawn from all directions from the eyes of neighbours and most of the times from the noisy street activities, with gardens and outbuildings constructed separately[36]. The term "villa/vilă" designated initially "an elegant house, built in areas with fresh air either in the countryside or mountains often in a personal style"[37], but it came to designate in the interwar Bucharest the new types of dwellings specific to the urban bourgeoisie.

DWELLING STRUCTURES OF THE BUCHAREST MIDDLE CLASSES DURING THE MODERN ERA

Representatives of the emerging middle classes, the small and middle urban bourgeoisie usually built simple houses of moderate dimensions often following the pattern of a typical Bucharest "*vagon*/wagon" style house, located on an elongated lot where constructions were aligned and mirrored each other along the road; rooms were situated along the corridor and the outbuildings were strung up to the backyard. The wagon type house had its narrow side facing the street and could lengthen on one side or mirrored on both sides of the courtyard ("*perechi de case*/pair houses" as they were called) perpendicularly to the road axis, with separate entrances for each house and with a common narrow and long courtyard and in its extension numerous outbuildings could be located. The aesthetic and legal norms of the era enforced a housing *habitus.*

The architectural model of the elite classes will influence the new owners and no matter the size of the houses they will decorate the facades and install colonnades and framing to doors and windows. During this age of economic dynamism and social progress, numerous comfortable dwellings are built within the interstices of prestigious urban axis, the so called *hochparter* (Germ.) or house with one or more

[36] Rădulescu 1933: 264.
[37] Candrea, Adamescu 1931: 1423.

floors, with carefully crafted iron decorative elements and with roofs that frequently incorporated attics. The sheer amount of these dwellings located in the central area of Bucharest is an important materialization of the economic and social dynamism of the last two decades of the XIXth century, up to the beginning of the World War II. As far as the socio-architectural meaning of these dwellings goes, the small decorative details as the "fashion whims" demanded were meant to "reflect something of the frivolity and coquetry" of the so called "French" style which was favoured by the society of those times... and also had great prestige"[38]. All these elements of prestige and modernity will be carefully detailed by means of architectural and decorative features in the case of the Bucharest houses in order to convey to the general public the social prestige of the occupant.

HOUSING PATTERNS FOR THE POOREST

The houses belonging to the poorest of the urban dwellers were located in *mahala* (outskirts), and were either unsanitary improvised houses of cheap materials and easy to procure (poles, plates, rods, adobe, covered with straw, reed, and later on with roofing felt and rarely with *Bismarck* slabs) or slightly better organized and maintained houses, similar to the ones peasant had, with two small and low rooms, separated by an area that played the role of hallway and kitchen. According to Vârtosu (1936), most of them were improvisations built at different stages, "in the first year, a room with a hall looking towards the courtyard, in the second year, a room is added and later, another and then another one" and when "the house was too long, a corridor that connects the rooms is erected, depriving them at the same time of light and air".

From the last decades of the XIXth century, and especially in the interwar period, a specific type of housing was achieved by means of densifications, locally known as "*locuințe de speculă* /housing speculation" (photo 3). This type of real estate investment included coupled houses or wagon-houses, lined on one or both sides of a courtyard. Incidences where this type of housing was carried out by an owner for his own use were rare. In most cases, those uncomfortable and unsanitary houses, lying along a lengthy courtyard or symmetrically arranged in front of a very narrow courtyard, were built for renting purposes especially to small officials, workers and their families[39]. In 1912, in Bucharest, 27% of the population lived in a single room house serving as bedroom, kitchen, and dining, etc., while 32% in a two room house. Also, a total of 29732 individuals lived with 3-5 persons in one room, 13412 individuals lived with 6-10 persons in one room and 1357 individuals lived with more than 10 persons in one room[40]. Coupled dwellings or

[38] Miclescu 2007: 32.
[39] Mihăilescu 2003: 150.
[40] Marcu 1921: 61.

the wagon-type stringed houses represented a form of collective housing, a horizontal step towards collective housing, especially the rent houses and block-houses from the eras to come.

Photo 3 – Speculative house built at the beginning of the XX century, in the North Train Station neighbourhood (Stoica Ludescu str.).

The promotion of housing for low-income population construction was regulated in 1910 by the law for setting up companies that would be responsible with building healthy and cheap housing. Furthermore, the first general plan for the systematization of Bucharest, conducted by Cincinat Sfințescu and enacted in 1921, designed the so called "neighbourhoods specialization", in which the city was divided according to its functions in zoning areas: "the centre core", neighbourhoods of villas, social housing and neighbourhoods for social, industrial areas and "military area" (photo 4). Still in 1921, concomitant with the promulgation of the general master plan, a legislation regarding plots and opening of new streets was enacted; on this occasion the future shape of the types of "*aglomerațiunilor de locuințe*/housing jams" would soon develop was debated: "garden-cities" (idea sustained by architect engineer C. Sfințescu) or "barrack apartments" (idea sustained by architect I.D. Enescu).

In this context, by applying urban regulations which aimed for the performing peripheral parcelling that would be used for constructing "*locuințe populare*/popular housing" and "*locuințe ieftine*/cheap housing" lead to the creation of the large peripheral neighbourhoods of pavilion type dwelling in Bucharest (photos 5-7).

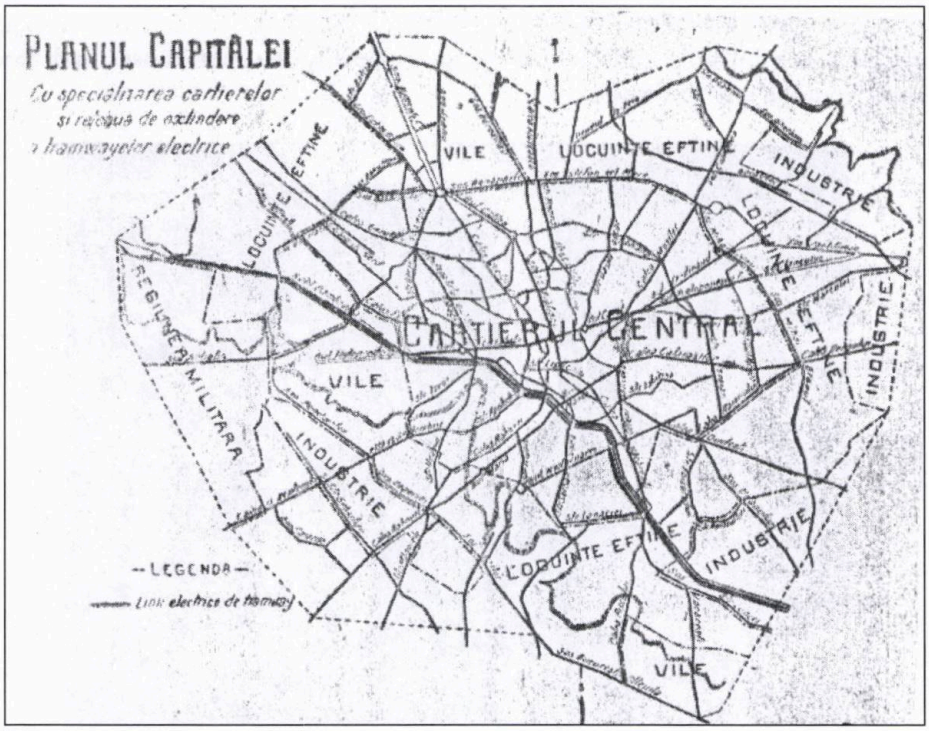

Photo 4 – Specialization of neighbourhoods (Urban Plan of Bucharest, 1921).

Photo 5 – The first cheap housing built in 1910 in Bucharest (Lânăriei str.).

Photo 6 – Popular pavilion type houses built in the interwar period (Ghica Tei Bvd.).

Photo 7 – Popular dwellings located in collective blochauses, built in the interwar period for public functionaries working for the Ministry of Finance (Cuțitul de Argint str.).

THE BEGINNING OF APARTMENTS IN THE "BLOCK-HAUS"

In 1921 was the first time when the issue of undivided quota in the case of "imobilelor colective cu etaje sau apartamente/collective multi-decker buildings with apartments" was regulated. In 1922, in Bucharest, the first 24 suites building constructed by a group of owners was built at the intersection of Calea Victoriei and Frumoasă Street (photo 8). In the following years, this type of initiative and collective property will multiply and was found mainly in the central area of the city. The rising of modern cubist style buildings, constructed in the "international" style, gave birth to different attitudes and caused critical reactions, given that the investors, mostly individuals or banks and investment companies, were primarily concerned about the efficiency and profit of their investments. I. Pascu considered the "cubism and standardized apartments houses type of city" as a capitalist, par excellence, design and that apartment ownership was "an expression of communization and collective property which precedes communism or even fully satisfies it, and will reduce to effectively nothingness the right of property"[41].

Photo 8 – The first collective dwellings blochaus built in Bucharest by an association of owners (Calea Victoriei).

Critics of the block type housing, noted that because of their height and location the blocks could became obvious targets for air strikes, in case of war, and that the cubist blocks were designed "after the taste of new housewives, who

[41] Pascu 1935: 25.

wanted comfort and as little work as possible, where the lady doesn't have to move much, as she has everything at hand, sanitation, bidet, hot - cold water, all so she won't miss her walk on Calea Victoriei or to the cinema"[42]. *The Law on housing spurring construction* of 1927, Chapter VII, *On the ownership of floors or apartments*, regulated the issue of co-ownership in collective housing, encouraging the development of a program that wasn't as developed before and legislating the per floor and apartment property as well as apartment buildings construction under co-ownership status. The official opening of the Brătianu Boulevard in 1928 establishes the block-haus modern architecture and introduces in the Romanian language a new word, with new meaning: *blocuri*, sg. *bloc*[43].

In the interwar period, many "*imobile de raport*/condominiums", mostly meant to be rented, with various heights and number of apartments, were constructed. The context in which the model of collective housing was imposed and modern architecture in Romania was understood; especially in the production of housing in Bucharest, is given by the fact that the capital city was a particular case in Europe, due to its favourable economic conditions. In Romania, the economic crisis from 1929-1933, although tough, was quickly surpassed, and Bucharest attracted a lot of capital, much of which was speculative. Thus, after the financial crisis due to the limited investment possibilities and fear of devaluation, many bankers and entrepreneurs across the country invested "in stone" by construction buildings in Bucharest[44].

The analysis of housing options during the '30s confirmed that apartments in the new multi-floored buildings were occupied, as Rădulescu T.A. (1933) noted, especially by "strangers, native city dwellers (who were largely individuals whose ancestors were a mixture of foreign origin, Greek, Armenian, Hebrew), and lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers, who were accommodated to living in apartments because of their travelling abroad" and others "new townspeople with a peasant background being the first or second generation, who are not easily accommodated to living in flats and prefer living in individual houses"[45]. In Bucharest, the social groups that occupied buildings erected during 1930-1940 are defined by the following specific features: they accept and appreciate the housing model proposed by the architect, although the current modern architecture represented an *avangarde* position against the traditional image of the dwelling on that time, and they can afford to pay (purchase or rental) the price of housing (photo 9).

The conception of housing evolved; techniques and materials changed and became much better, more practical and cheaper. N. Lascu notes that a "house from 1880, regardless of type, has little connection with one from 1939, except, perhaps,

[42] Oprescu 1935: 14.
[43] Velescu 1997: 162.
[44] Gheorghiu 2010: 41.
[45] Rădulescu 1933: 266.

certain functional grouping of areas, highly resistant over time"[46]. Also, there was a change in attitude, taste and ways of viewing the house, the issues of hygiene and comfort level intervened thanks to plumbing, central heating, and elevators; the economic mind-set also had a word to say and required the suppression of all that seemed unnecessary or no longer met with the existing requirements. "A height of 3 to 3.50 meters for a room is considered today, even by the more demanding types, as sufficient. The modern interior architecture considered the monumental double-leaf doors 3 meters high, which were provided for both medium and luxurious homes as meaningless. Other features were also discarded, as long as their role was assigned to other elements or they were simply deleted altogether: "the salon, so crucial to our fathers, that room of mysteries that opened only 2-3 times per year, has been replaced with the modern "hall", encompassing the tasks of another missing part: the vestibule"[47].

Photo 9 – Small blochauses built in the interwar period
by representatives of the Bucharest middle class.

Within the apartments of the new buildings, distinct functional areas were defined; they translated social meanings, new ways of life and household organization. Thus, P. Gheorghiu identifies three distinct functional areas: a) day relating (vestibule, hall, dining room, office) b) night relating (bedrooms);

[46] Lascu 1997: 233.
[47] Sachelarie, Vijoli, Moroianu 1935: 18–19.

c) dependencies (secondary access, kitchen, office, pantry, bathrooms, room service, laundry, storage, garage). The main entrance to the apartment building was large, and the access to the service staircase used for servants to reach secondary entrance of the apartment next to the kitchen and service rooms in the attic consisted often of a secondary, lateral entrance. The apartments had interior circulation nodes that ensured access from the main entrance to the living rooms and from the secondary one to the outbuildings. There also is in absolutely all cases the possibility of an independent circulation, for a separate non-embarrassing relationship of the bedrooms with the dependencies and at least one of the entrances into the apartment. After the nationalization process took place it was this particular feature that made it possible and bearable for the "common use" of a single apartment by several families, which has indeed happened in many such houses. In many cases, the interwar block-haus have a small garden, located at the main entrance, ensuring a green area "enough to indulge the habits of those who, coming from buildings with large yards, moved for the first time into a collective house, even if it only had 2 or 3 flats"[48].

URBAN DWELLING STRUCTURE AND SIGNIFICANCES DURING COMMUNISM

During the communist period, nationalization of housing as well the housing production and standardization stopped the development of housing and residential areas in Bucharest. In the context of social levelling, housing lost their previously gained meanings. Old mansions and bourgeoisie villas or houses were nationalized, and similarly to *kommunalka* housing in the Soviet Union, they were restructured and filled with tenants of the State or became headquarters of public institutions thus changing their function entirely[49]. The most common type of housing erected was the large collectivist building, where household privacy was limited (photo 10). Dwellings became simple shelters; the process of social differentiation by means of housing status was only possible for members of the nomenclature. Such buildings were located in open space, conveying a message of egalitarianism. Apartment blocks built during the communist period were the framework for supporting social achievement by access to housing since the '50s. The apartment is considered a suitable housing unit for the new social order, mixing the socio-occupational groups and creating the "new man". During the communist era, public funds for housing construction were used for apartment blocks, according to the rules and models previously presented. This type of housing represented the most comfortable form of housing living condition for the new urban residents or natives living in peripheral areas in the context of the communist era.

[48] Gheorghiu 2010: 75–77; 113.
[49] Messana 1995.

Photo 10 – IAL plate (Housing Administration Enterprise) – administrative mark for the nationalization of houses and the splitting of the single-family houses into apartments for more families during the communist period (Grigore Mora str.).

The political discourses and the reality of the '80s proved that housing in the communist city of the future meant housing exclusively in blocks of flats (apartments). The urban renovation programs undertaken primarily during the last communist decade lead to the demolition of numerous pavilion type neighbourhoods located both in the centre and at the periphery of the city. Prior to that moment the urban documents had declared all the houses located in Bucharest as "area/house bound to be demolished". As such, it was the fear of demolition which made difficult the appropriation, even by acquisitions, of pavilion type houses. The series of urban and legislative resolutions resulted in the atomization of the city, and urban dwelling was branded socially and spatially by the equivocal and unilateral decision of the supreme communist leader: the leading classes and those close to it will live in the few neighbourhoods that had quality villas located in the central and northern part of the city and the rest of the population was living

or were about to live exclusively in blocks of flats. The differences in quality and size of the flats was already being moulded by the specific normative framework of housing constructions and the social moulding within that framework was done via the control system of housing repairs which was done by syndicates, enterprises and local public authorities (photo 11).

Photo 11 – Communist block of flats – the dominant type of housing (Iuliu Maniu Bvd.).

The end result was that even if the political-ideological communist speech was proclaiming a population mixing and standardization through housing for the "working class population", the social significances of living in communist blocks persists or/and is recreated. At the end of the communist regime the pavilion type houses seemed to be doomed and their appropriation by the new city dwellers was just a temporary stage in their residential itinerary towards a block apartment. In spite of this, the Bucharest house remains a place of family history and patrimony for many people. The asperity of the urban housing regulation as well as its absurdity made it that, in the first days after the fall of communism, the legislation regarding urban renovation, construction and acquisition was modified[50]. And, after half a century the collective and pavilion type dwellings entered a new stage of development being imbued with new and different social meanings and adapted to the neoliberal post-communist rules.

[50] Suditu 2009: 81.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the common ground shared by social scientists interested in the nature of the cultural meanings of the house, they have had little to say to one another, beyond the disciplinary distance. However, they speak different languages and use metaphors. Cultural geographers were interested in geographies of housing, revealing different landscapes, as a representation of what they are and what can be. Cultural landscapes can be a synthesis of history and space, of memories and places. One the most common component of the cultural landscape is the house, which primarily satisfies the basic needs (the shelter), but also signifies a specific kinship within the family.

Bucharest socio-residential reality needs to be understood through the housing features of each and every century the great city traversed. Houses evolved together with the lifestyles, aspirations and social references of each era. The images provided by various buildings, heritage houses, houses with outstanding architectural style assign and offer a specific individual memory, and thus forms a visual landscape, a cultural representation which was in fact constructed by that place or city' history. Houses offer authenticity and symbolic representation. They are closely linked to the urban design, to idea of place and placemaking based on identity and self-identity[51]. The city is "authentic if it can create the *experience* of origins"[52]. Patrimonial buildings, manorial houses and boyar's houses could be seen as important icons of the city, they are different ways of seeing. Those icons are carrying specific meanings and are rooted in collective memory.

They make out the particular spaces and places, embedded into geo-historic topology of the city. The Royal Court, Lipscani Street, Mogoşoaia Bridge become places in geographic spaces, because certain stories and narratives are associated with them. Secrets, mysteries, hidden places are unfolded in collective and individual memory. This is why a "place is often associated with the world of the past and location/space with the world of the present and future"[53]. The place is nostalgic and regressive and, undoubtedly, the place matters.

Each one of us knows the meanings of the words "house", "home" "room", "street", "town square", they are familiar terms used in everyday practice, they can be particular spaces and "they correspond to a specific use of that space, and hence to spatial practice that they express or constitute[54]. Unravelling the social and cultural meanings of homes could be sometimes controversial. Meaning is produced and exchanged in social cultural interaction.

A dwelling, beyond the definitions offered by constructors, statisticians and public and financial governors, is a projection of a lifestyle. Housing thus evolved

[51] Carter et al. 2007, Massey 1994.
[52] Zukin 2010: 3.
[53] Agnew 2011: 323.
[54] Lefebvre 1991: 16.

similarly with the lifestyles social aspirations and references in each era. Considering all these we must conclude that even though a house which was well placed and highly rated and represented the image of social prosperity and economic influence in during one era won't translate into the same thing twenty years later.

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THE FLOWERS' DEBATE

SABINA ISPAS

ABSTRACT

The article emphasizes the Christian Orthodox source and stratum of the folk poetry belonging to the carol/caroling genre. Elements associable to the Seven Secrets and Sacraments – that are fundamental to the Orthodox Church (especially those referring to Baptism, Holy Chrism, and Eucharist) – are identified and exemplified in a series of Romanian carol poetic texts. Particularly, carol texts versifying a three flowers' debate/dispute (or quarel/argument) are discussed.

Keywords: carol, caroling, Orthodox Church, Medieval poetry.

The emergence of Romanian oral tradition was stimulated, directed and moulded by historical events, occurring not only in the centre and south-east of Europe but also in the entire basin of the Eastern Mediterranean. In its turn, the cultural phenomenon – a resultant, to a certain extent – affects history.

Out of folklore categories documented on a wider cultural area in Europe, those performed during winter feasts are particularly important. There stand out carol singing, popular theater, divination, apotropaic and propitiatory practices.

The traditional poetic repertoire of the carol-singing ritual also includes Christmas Carols about *Three Holy Flowers* or *The Flowers' Quarrel*[1]. Spread mostly in the southern part of Romania, these texts have a striking aesthetic design and an significantly opinionated content. About this carol poetic text we make few brief comments.

The typology of carol poetic texts evinces an outstanding thematic unity over the territories inhabited by Romanian speakers (as well as by those who live outside the present borders of Romania). This may advocate our assertion that the carols texts had and partly still have an informative catechetical function. Many categories of traditional popular texts have often carried out a message imbued with religious doctrine, underlying the spiritual life of a traditional-type

[1] Cf. Brătulescu 1981: type 151, *The dispute between wheat, wine, and holy oil.*

community. The Christian message is obvious in the carol texts, a refined and systematic way of teaching. In the period when Old Slavonic was used to celebrate liturgy in the Romanian church (the same as Latin or Old Greek were used for other european communities), the congregational religious education was achieved by reading homilies, apocrypha, hagiographies, moral advice, or various types of texts in Romanian[2].

The "sacred" languages (Latin, Old Greek, Church Slavonic), preserved in officiating the religious liturgy in Europe, played, in my opinion, an important role in stimulating the development of cultural system in the national languages of various European peoples. The vernacular language was used for religious information, catehizing, law, applying norms of conduct. An entire field of "dogmatic information", of oral circulation was created, meant to instruct common people on sacred or administrative means. The spoken vernacular was used to preserve an unadulterated dogmatic message and necessary middle-level education, to prevent communities from lapsing into heresies. (The history of orthodoxy in Romania does not mention the emergence of heresie or iconoclastic currents, up to the modern period.)

A parallel system of religious instruction in Romanian, of oral circulation, was developed and enriched throughout centuries, using a system of symbols and a semnatics controlled by scholars, who answered for people's "shepherding" and spiritual "moulding". Since in the Middle Ages the élites themselves were not characterized by a secular mentality, that system operated at all levels, working for all social classes. We may call it a "popular system", aimed primarily at ensuring the "protection" of the entire group against any coherence threts, the integration within the Christian sacredness, and access to Salvation. That system preserved data from the Paleochristian period, adapted and updated, according to the cultural evolution of Romanian areas, of the central and South-East of Europe, of the Near East and Middle East. "Popular books", sapiential and moralizing literature, popular novels, played a prominent part in this process. In my opinion, two categories of oral circulation were essentially related to that process and to the group mentality-moulding in the wider cultural area previously mentioned: legends and carols (a great many of the motifs of traditional legends are also found in the carol poetic texts)[3].

The fact that the traditional oral culture found in Romania has been imbued with concepts and elements of Christian symbolics may be proved by the fact that the Tomis Bishopric was recorded as early as the 3rd Century A.D., that the main terms used by Romanians in the Christian worship have a Latin etymology and that saints and martyrs were documented on the Romanian territory as early as the first

[2] See *Calendae, calendar, colindat* [Calendae, Calendar, Caroling], in Ispas 1998: 29–61.

[3] Cartojan 1929, 1938; Chiţimia–Simonescu 1963; Tubach 1969 (FFC no. 204); Gheţie–Mareş 1996-2001; Ispas 2006.

centuries of Christianity. It is also worth recalling that the entire medieval period of the Romanian culture, in all its components, bore the stamp of Orthodoxy [4].

The connection between carol-singing and the Christmas and New Year feasts with the Romanians is well documented since centuries and well-known nowadays. Those feasts have been exclusively Christian for at least a millennium and half, no matter whether their date was changed for theological reasons or calendar necessities.

A detail of special cultural importance, for the Romanian tradition, is the popular name of December, the month when Christmas is celebrated: Undrea, or Indrea, derives from the Greek Ανδρέας, which is the name of Andrew, the Apostle. According to the traditon, he was the one who propagated Christianity in the Pontic Dacia, and only in Romanian his name has been preserved in association with the name of the month when a great many converted were baptized.

The carol texts and even components of the ritual of carol-singing proper did not emerge at the same time. They were created in different historic moments of the Romanian Orthodox Christian community, as well as in different stages of the development of poetic species themselves. Some edifying poetic carol texts recall the historic moment when Christmas and Christ's Baptism were celebrated at the same time (by the Eastern Church), namely on the 6th of January (which happen until the 4th Century). By that time, water, people, houses, farmsteads, goods, all the belongings of the community were baptized. Texts even mention the baptism of catechumens. The carol-singers, messengers and actants, actually prefeatured the rituals to be performed inside the church, on the Day of Epiphany. That was the reason why, in the carol text, they are urged by the host in the Christmas Eve's evening:

Voi, patru colindători,	Ye, four carol singers,
Vă alegeţi doi din voi,	Choose two of ye,
Doi din voi, mai tinerei,	Two younger ones,
Treceţi, mergeţi la grădină,	Pass on, go to the garden,
La grădina Raiului,	To the garden of Paradise,
Rupeţi fir	Pick up a plant
De calofir	Of castmary
Şi steble de busuioc,	And a bunch of basil,
Treceţi, mergeţi la fântână,	Pass on, go to the well
La izvorul lui Iordan,	To Jordan's spring,
Muiaţi fir	Wet up stem
De calofir	Of costmary
Şi stebla de busuioc	And the bunch of basil
Şi-apoi mergeţi colindând,	And then go out caroling
Doi pe urmă botezând,	Two of ye baptizing
Stropiţi casă,	Sprinkling the house,
Stropiţi masă,	Sprinkling the table,
Stropiţi feţi de coconi creţi[5].	Sprinkling the curly children.

[4] Păcurariu 1980.

[5] Teodorescu 1982: 25.

The oldest carols evince Christian symbols, related to the earliest faith (from the period closest to the apostleship up to the 9th Century). To Romanians, a second period covers the Middle Ages and the late Middle Ages; in this times there was a unitary theological doctrine, that included all fundamental concepts on life and death. A third period, covering the last 200 years, produced texts easily identified and analysed nowadays. To decypher and understand the first period texts, subtle and deep-going theological knowledge is required, as well as various specialized fields of information.

A brief inventory of symbols originating from the sacred texts or from the symbolism of the early Christian centuries may be identified and extracted from the carols' poetry. Such are: the Dove (symbolizing the Holy Ghost, person of the Trinity); the eagle (standing for the Gospel in general, as preached to people); the peacock (mark of eternal life); the lion (symbol of the tribe of Judas and Jesus, accompaning many "fathers of the desert", and constant element of hagiography); the stag and roe-deer (representing catechumenship and sacrificing to revive under a new identity under the new faith); the roe-deer (also associated with the sacrifice of the sacrament of matrimony); the stag (drinking from the "spring of knowledge" of the new moral); the ox (sacrificial animal in the Temple of Jerusalem and symbol of St. Luke). The horse is not mentioned in any sacred texts, yet it is often encountered in carol poetic texts, as mount of the medieval knight. It is part of the typical image of the feudal lord, entitled to hunt with greyhounds and falcon, to become a "prince", a ruler, a candidate to matrimony – a sacrament accessible to any mortal. It may also recall the four horses in the Apocalipse or military saints, fighting the devil, like St. George or Dimitrie. The golden orb, symbolizes domination of the world by Christ; the wreath of martyrdom is mentioned in the sacrament of matrimony; the (Eucharistic) cup concetrates the symbolism of the Eucharist and the divine essence; the ship stands for the Church; the nuptial bed is another icon symbolizing the sacrament of matrimony. Beside Baptism, Eucharist and Chrism anointing, this last symbol is one of the most often mentioned in the carols' poetry. Old carol texts and the ensuing caroling ritual mention only occupations that are documented in sacred sources: shepherding, tax-gathering (both St. Matthew and Zacchaeus were publicans), fishing, priesthood. Later on, when the meaning of the ritual became partly hidden, professions with a social implications and moral-authority, inside the traditional community, were added: mayor, village magistrate, public notary, a.s.o.[6]

Each carol text includes specific and meaningful symbols, usually centered on a character or in a series of elements and actions with clear-cut significations to the Christian theology.

The present analysis discusses a group of carol texts which mention three of the seven sacraments: Baptism, Chrism anointing and Eucharist. Such texts were

[6] Ispas 1998: 62-88 (*Colindul şi marea* [The Carol and the Sea]).

meant to achieve the communion, characteristic to the Christian church, and, by making it listen to carols, to integrate the community in the mystery of the Saviour's birth, life and death.

The liturgy officiated during the religious service actually narrates the life of the Son of God, from birth to crucifixion. It is the service in which the Holy Eucharist is prepared and offered as a sacrifice, and includes a symbolical narration of the Saviour's life. Each time the carol singing is performed, it recreates the union of the Christian community prior to the sacred service time (which takes place within the church). Caroling also mediates the participation of the visited community to the mystery of Birth.

The Orthodox Christian Church knows seven Holy Sacraments: Baptism, Chrism Anointing, Eucharist, Penance, Ordering, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction. The seven sacraments provided the object for erudite theological debates several handred years ago. The well-known work of Varlaam, Metropolitan bishop of Moldavia – who had authored the 1643 collection of *Cazania* (homilies) – on the Seven Sacraments of the Church, was a response to the Calvinist catechism. Another reaction was the scholared dissertation of the Moldavian Nicolae Milescu, the Spatharus, concerning the transubstantiation of Christ's body.

The cycle of the Saviour's life provides a symbolical substance to carol singing by the group of lads during the night of Christmas Eve. Three groups of texts, included in several types, refer to the three sacraments already mentioned: Baptism, Chrism Anointing and the Holy Eucharist. The last two are grouped in the thematic sequences of crucifixion, in type 187 of the typology of carols – *The origin of wheat, wine and chrism* and in type 151 – *The dispute between wheat, wine and holy oil*[7].

The sacrament, according to the dogmatic and symbolic theology is "a sacred act, set up by the incarnate God, through which the invisible divine grace is imparted in a visible form to the receiver". Baptism is a "a purification act or rite in many religions; it became a sacrament only in Christianity and remained as such only in the Orthodox and Roman-Catholic Churches". The New Testament mentions John's baptism or the "baptism of penance", Christ's baptism, which washes away the sins of the world and is an epiphany, and "the Christian baptism", sacrament and baptism of the Holy Trinity, a condition to enter the kingdom of Heaven. All the three forms of baptism are mentioned in our carols.

In the Gospel according to John we read the Saviour's words: «"I tell you the truth, no one can see the kingdom of God unless he is born again"./ "How can a man be born when he is old?" Nicodemus asked./ "Surely he cannot enter a second time into his mother's womb to be born!"/ Jesus answered: "I tell you the truth, no one can enter the kingdom of God unless he is born of water and the Spirit. Flesh

[7] Cf. Brătulescu 1981.

gives birth to flesh, but the Spirit gives birth to spirit. You should not be surprised at my saying, You must be born again"»[8].

This sacrament is materialized by the water immersion, in the name of the Holy Trinity, to wash away the original sin and all transgressions done up to baptism, and to be born to a new spiritual life when the baptized person becomes a member of the Church of Christ, which is "the mysterious body of God". According to the Catecheses of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, the immersion in water three times stands for the three days when Christ was buried. "You died and were born the same moment, and that water of salvation was both your grave and your mother". Baptism grants not only redemption but also the grace of adoption. This is called "the likeness of death" in St. Paul's *Romans.* Christ washed himself in the Jordan, he "imparted the good fragrancee of Godhead to the waters" and running waters were thus consacrated. Here is a fragment from the carol text:

În bătătura cestui domn,	In the frontyard of this squire,
Nouă peri şi nouă meri,	[there are] Nine pear-trees and nine apple-trees,
'N vârf de nouă meri şi peri	On the top of the nine apple-trees and pear-trees
Mi-arde nouă lumânări,	There burn nine candles,
Pică nouă picături,	Down there fall nine drops
Ruptu-mi-s-au trei râuri:	Which make three rivers:
Râu de vin şi-altu de mir,	A wine river and a chrism river,
Şi-unu-i râu lui Iordan.	And one is the Jordan's river.
În vale de dumnealor	Downstream them
Coborâtu-le-au Hristos.	Christ walked down,
S-a scăldat şi s-a-mbăiat,	He bathed and washed himself,
Mi-a ieşit, s-a limpezit	Went out and got purified
Cu sfânt mir s-a miruit[9].	Of holy chrism was anointed.

The Holy Virgin, Crăciun, Saint John and the saints were also baptized. Afterwards:

Domnul cestor curţi	The owner of the courts
S-a scăldat şi s-a-mbăiat,	Bathed and washed himself,
A ieşit, s-a limpezit,	Went out and got purified,
Cu sfânt mir s-a miruit,	Of holy chrism was anointed,
Lui Hristos i-a mulţumit[10].	And thanked Christ [for it].

These texts hide several Christian meanings, and each section supplies a new piece of information. Thus the contact between running water (the clear water river) and the body of Christ (God), permits water to partake His holiness; in the same time, the sanctified water provides the contact to those who will enter the

[8] *The Holy Bible* 1984 (John 3: 5).

[9] Archive of the „C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (henceforth AIEF) fg. 176 a (from Poenari-Vulpeşti commune, Ilfov county, 31.12.1930).

[10] Ibid.

baptismal water and hence partake in the Knowledge. Christ, the first to be baptized in Jordan's water (or in "the clear water") is an epitome of the whole mankind, both divine and human nature. The source of the three rivers – water, wine and Chrism – is light, symbolized by the lit candles that drip their substance in the three mentioned elements. That light has actually a spiritual meaning, it is "the spiritual or figurative meaning used to call God, who is light". Christ is called "the light of the world", Christians were "sons of light" and they had to be "clothed in Christ".

The text quoted from the *Colindu' Mare* (the Great Carol) clearly voices all the major meanings of the Christian baptism. The figure three and the multiple of three are sacred digits: The Saviour lay in His tomb for three days and three nights, there are three immersions in the baptismal water.

The mentoned carol is called *God's Carol*, or *The Great Carol*, *The Divine Song*, *The Divine Carol* or *The Carol of the Courts*. It is widespread in several geographical areas in the south of Romania (Argeş, Brăila, Bucureşti, Buzău, Dâmboviţa, Dobrogea, Galaţi, Ialomiţa, Ilfov, Prahova, Tulcea), and in the carols typology has 34 variants.

The literature of the European Middle Ages provided a wide area to the poetic genre of "allegoric debates (or disputes)", known in Latin as *altercatio* and in French as *débat.* These poetic texts had both a didactic and catichetic role, since they referred to the argument between soul and body, water and wine, a.s.o. The Western medieval literature supplies poetic texts of a lyrical type proper, in regard with debates among flowers, such as rose, lily, the violet. Echoes of that debates genre survived up to the present in Romanian popular lyrical poetry, in arguments between would-be love partners. By a series of allegorical metamorphoses, each partner endeavours to acquire authority over the other. The maiden wishes to be: a reed on a lake, an asier willow in bloom, a princely flower. The lad who pursues her would be changed into: a small sickle, a small and nice hatchet, a flower weeder. The vegetal substance chosen as an equivalent by females will be scarificed by the hard metal tools, and male force will uproot it, becoming its master.

The most significant medieval dispute, which has generated a well-individualized group of themes in the poetry of Romanian carols, documented up to the present, refers to the meaning and role of sacraments. In our opinion, the essence of the carol on the three holy flowers' quarrel, is – by typological systematization – of a pure theological dispute. It is an attempt to the assessing of the sacraments' importance – namely of Eucharist and Chrism anointing – and of their role in the process of individual salvation.

Romanians were aware of the European interconfessional dialogue and even took part in it. This is proved by spatharus Nicolae Milescu's intiative of writing a theological essay in Latin, sent to the Jansenists of Port-Royal and published in Paris. Titled *Écrit d'un seigneur moldave sur la croyance des grecs. Enchiridion*

sive Stella Orientalis Occidentali splendens (Paris, 1669)[11], it included the opinion of the Greek Church on Lord's transubstantiation and other controversial matters.

A brief analysis of the carol's typical text start with the sequence of the poetic description of a four-cornered table (cruciform meaning), covered by a silk cloth. God and His Son "are seated at the table head, surrounded by saints and angels. In variants of the type 515 and 137, God, Saint John, Saint Peter and the master of the house also are seated by the table corners. The master of the house raises-up a "gift-glass", "a gift from the godfather", in which the three flowers are drawn. By associating the two text types, we may easily identify in the first one the Holy Table, with the Holy Cup containing the Holy Eucharist. That chalice stands for the wine cup used by Jesus at the Last Supper as well as for the platter in which John the Apostle received Christ's blood under the Cross. As it is well-known, the Holy Grail and its Quest was one of the favourite subjects in medieval literature. In some liturgical moments, the chalice symbolizes also Christ's tomb. As a bearer of the Eucharist, it is holy, redeeming, divine. It stands in the centre of the altar table, which symbolizes both Christ's crib and tomb and the Last Supper (where Eucharist was established). The Holy Table is the place on which the sacrifice of the New Covenant is perpetrated. In our carol variants that include the master of the house, that table also stands for the place of ritual agape or brotherly repast. The three holy flowers stand round the table, or in front of the Lord, or are drawn on the chalice that is placed in the center of the table. The flowers point to their respective role in the sacraments: without the chrism flower "no one baptizes anything", without the wine flower "no matrimony is made", without the wheat flower "nobody lives". The last phrase refers to the eternal life insured by the Eucharist bread. The Lord himself points out their role:

Floarea grâului	The wheat flower
Chiar bine grăia:	Hath spoken the truth
Că-i peliţa mea.	For it is my flesh.
Floarea vinului	The wine flower
Chiar bine grăia	Hath spoken the truth
Şi s-adeverea:	And identified herself:
E sângele meu.	For it is my blood.
Floarea mirului	The chrism flower
Chiar bine grăia	Hath spoken the truth
Şi s-adeverea:	And identified herself:
E botezul meu[12].	For it is my baptism.

In another carol, the man immersed in holy water, close to the Lord, also receives the holy chrism. In another variant, at the baptism of Christ as child, He also is anointed with chrism, in the same time He also being the source of

[11] Milescu 1997.
[12] Viciu 1914: 99.

Chrism: *Mititel şi-nfăşeţel/ Curge mirul după el* [Small and pwaddled/ The chrism flows from Him]. Many texts refer to the origin of chrism. They may be grouped into two thematic units: those mentioning the quarrel of flowers and those called the *Colinda Răstignirii* [Crucifixion Carol]. All of them point out that chrism was at first the sweat that covered the Saviour's body, while he endured Crucifixion.

Cum Lui că-i puneare	He was crowned
Cunună de spini,	With a crown of thorns,
Spin mărăcinos,	Briery thorns,
Cununa-l strângeare,	The crown hurt Him,
Sudoare-l treceare,	Sweat came out of Him,
Pe pământ cădeare,	Dripped down on earth,
Mirul se făceare	Turning into chrism,
'N lume trimeteare,	And was sent into the world
Fini-ş botezare[13].	To baptize godsons.
Cunună de spini	A crown of thorns
Şi-n cap mi-o punea,	Was placed on my head,
Sudoare-mi curgea	My sweat started dripping down
Şi unde-mi cădea,	And where it fell,
Sfânt mir se făcea,	It turned into holy chrism,
Creştinii venea	Christians came
Şi se miruia[14].	And were anointed with it.

The holy chrism is oil mixed with spice, boiled after a certain ritual every year in the first three days of Passion Week, and consecrated by the Patriarch on the Holy Thursday. Chrism anointing symbolizes the mystery of the Holy Ghost who descended upon the Saviour and His disciples in a visible way. The holiness of the anointing is imparted to people in unseen way after baptism. The Greek word Χριστός actually means "anointed". Saint Cyril of Jerusalem wrote about chrism anointing: "The chrism oil symbolizes the partaking of Christ's fat; it drives away all traces of the evil work (...), it burns and chases away demons, like a very strong flame (...), it washes away all traces of sins"[15]. The motif of the "origin of chrism", mentioned in our texts – such as the flowers' quarrel carol, often continued in the *Crucifixion Carol* – actually refers to the second sacrament (Chrism Anointing).

In our opinion, the carol on the quarrel among wheat flower, chrism flower and wine flower is earlier than that on crucifixion. It belongs to an earlier period, and as the meaning of the flower sumbols got lost it became necessary that the mysteries to be unraveled in a less cryptic way.

[13] AIEF fg. 320-324 (from Mada commune, Hunedoara county, 6.12.1931).
[14] AIEF fg. 4 b (from Sâncel commune, Târnava Mică county, 11.06.1931).
[15] Sfântul Chiril al Ierusalimului 1943: 556.

The third sacrament, Holy Eucharist, is symbolized by wheat. In a metaphoric, figurative way, bread stands for the several limbs Church (Christ's Body), the same as bread is made out of processed wheat. It stands for the righteaus, the believers saved on Doomsday. The sacrament of the Holy Eucharist was established by the Saviour Himself at the Last Supper. Even before the Passion Week, Christ was called "the bread of life", the living bread, descended from heaven. The Holy Communion is also an offering, as it continues and completes the sacrifice of Golgotha.

The symbolism of the wheat used to prepare Eucharistic bread is much more complex. The agony of that plant is presented in legends, legendary fairy-tales, in the *Pluguşor* [Plough] poem, and – during the carol-singing ritual – in the "*Colac* [Knockshepbread] Song". For those who listen to that story, that agony stands for Jesus' agony, and has a purrifying, redeeming function.

The thematic ensemble occuring in the carols' poetic texts, together with the dramatic progress of the ritual, make up a structure based on Christian dogmas, component part of the customs system.

As a sacrificial offering, bread first appeared at the Last Supper, when the Holy Eucharist was established, to reproduce "without blood shedding, the sacrifice of His blood". Saint Cyril said that "He did not enter using the blood of he-goats or calves. But He shed His own blood and laid the fundaments of eternal redemption"[16]. The carol text reads:

Şi unde-mi bătea	And where they hammered
În mâini şi-n picioare	Into my hands and legs
Cuie şi piroane,	Nails and rivets,
Sângele pornea	Blood gushed
Şi unde cădea,	And where it fell down
Vin că se făcea	It turned into wine
Şi se aduna.	And formed a pool.
Şi când îmi făcea	And when they made
Un brâu de măcieş	A belt of wild brier
Şi când mă-ncingea,	And put it around me,
Carnea-mi curgea	My flesh was hurt
Şi unde-mi cădea,	And where it fell down
Sfânt grâu se făcea,	It turned into holy wheat,
Creştinii venea	Christians came
Şi se hrănea[17].	And fed themselves on it.

As ritual texts, carols are placed in a particular context, which grants them a special status as compared to other sung versified species. In addition to the sung versified epics – the heroic epos and the ballads –, carol singing integrates the Romanian culture to the European Middle Ages.

[16] Idem: 348.
[17] AIEF fg. 4 b.

The spreading of the carol-singing among all social categories, on the occasion of Christmas and New Year feasts, is mentioned also in some chronicles.

"Christian symbols are concrete means for calling forth a spiritual condition. There occurs a transition from a sensible state to a supersensible, transcendental one. L. Bréhier pointed out that Christian art – especially at the beginning – was a system of symbols and abstractions, making up a complex language for knowledgeable persons. To be justified in the eyes of the Church, art acquired an educational character. From the very beginning, Christian artists used beauty as a means to brighten up ideas"[18].

The poetic text of the traditional carol underlined the value of the primary Christian symbols in a verbal structure of great theological refinement, in a moment of glory of the late Romanian Middle Ages.

Upon the proposal of Romania and the Republic of Moldova, on 5th of December 2013 the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has inscribed *Men's group Colindat, Christmas-time ritual* on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

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[18] Rămureanu 1971: 628.

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TRADITION ET CHANGEMENT CHEZ LES ÉMIGRÉS ROUMAINS PENDANT LES FÊTES D'HIVER À PARIS

DANIELA IANCU

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article porte sur l'ethnologie des émigrés roumains en France surprise dans le cadre des fêtes du calendrier religieux et sur les réseaux de relations et les interactions qui sont instaurées par l'intermédiaire de l'espace de l'église traditionnelle. Dans le cadre de la nouvelle dynamique sociale dans l'Europe et dans le monde l'émigration pour des raisons économiques, culturelles ou affectives est devenu un facteur habituel au monde y compris pour les Roumains. Il faut préciser que depuis toujours la plus parte des émigrés roumains en France ont trouvé dans l'église orthodoxe traditionnelle un espace de rencontre identitaire, un pôle culturel et spirituel. On a va essayer de mettre en évidence la manière que les Roumains ont choisi pour adapter leurs rituels et pratiques chrétiennes en France.

Mots clés: émigrés roumains, identité, socialisation, fêtes, pratiquer l'orthodoxie, diversité culturelle, pratiques et usages chrétiens.

Un des grands pôles de migration en raison de son accessibilité, l'Europe a toujours été comme l'Amérique, l'Asie, historiquement, un des lieux des migrations les plus importants. Les raisons qui motivent les migrations sont souvent économiques et politiques. Ces mobilités sont aussi entrainées par le regroupement familial, élément très important de la migration à l'heure actuelle. Les migrations de travail, l'immigration pour aller suivre des études se développe aussi beaucoup et le profil des migrants s'est diversifié: élites, réfugies, touristes et migrants économiques. "Les migrations sont devenues un enjeu majeur du XXI^{è} siècle" – relève le sociologue française Catherine Withol de Wenden.[1]

Avec les nouvelles vagues d'immigration, la diversité culturelle, une constante de l'histoire européenne, s'accrue ces dernières décennies. La plupart des gens qui sont arrivés en Europe demeurent attachées au patrimoine culturel de leur pays d'origine. L'Europe acceptée les identités multiples comme une richesse et

[1] de Wenden 2010.

cette diversité peut contribuer à la créativité dont l'Europe a besoin et façonne l'avenir dans un monde qui évolue rapidement. Les émigrés ne sont pas obligés à renoncer à leur foi, leur culture ou encore leur identité. Les membres des différents groupes religieux, culturels ou ethniques arrivent apprendre à se connaître et travailler ensemble. La rencontre des cultures ne signifie pas absolument le choque des civilisations, mais leur harmonisation.

Dans le cadre de la nouvelle dynamique sociale dans l'Europe et dans le monde l'émigration pour des raisons économiques, culturelles ou affectives est devenu un facteur habituel au monde y compris pour les Roumains. Pour illustrer un aspect concret de l'immigration dans l'Europe, on a pris comme référence les immigrés roumains en France et on a essayé de surprendre la pratique de l'orthodoxie à Paris, une religion moins répandue dans le monde occidentale, mais qui sert aussi en tant que facteur unificateur et identitaire pour les Roumains. Même si le phénomène de l'immigration roumaine suscite des doutes de la parte de l'Union Européenne et, souvent, de la parte du pays d'accueil, il faut souligner que les Roumaines on une forte tradition de l'émigration en France; tout au long de l'histoire, les Roumains se sont installés par vagues successives en France. Au milieu du XIX^{e} siècles la Sorbonne rassemblait près de 500 étudiants roumains réunis dans une paroisse (rue Racine dans le 6eme arrondissement) et à la fin des années 1980 un très grand nombre de Roumains qui fuyaient le communisme sont arrivées en France. Tout au cours du XX^{e} siècle l'émigration roumaine a donné à la France certaines de ces plus grandes figures, comme le sculpteur Brâncuşi, l'historien des religions Mircea Eliade, le philosophe Emil Cioran, le dramaturge Eugen Ionesco et beaucoup d'autres.

Il faut préciser que depuis toujours la plus parte des émigrés roumains en France ont trouvé dans l'église orthodoxe roumaine un espace de socialisation et surtout de rencontre identitaire, un pôle culturel et spirituel. Donc pratiquer l'orthodoxie en France peut être pour les Roumains un témoignage sur la manière dont ils ont choisi de vivre et partager leur présence dans le nouveau espace, entre leur quotidien et l'espace de l'église traditionnelle qui les réunit pendant les fêtes religieuse de l'année, les célébrations des grands moment de la vie, la commémoration des mort et tous les dimanches. Il y aussi une série des conférences et actions culturelles déroulées dans l'espace de l'église: "Témoin", "L'amour pour la beauté", "Nepsis", qui sont centrées sur les thématiques liées à l'histoire et la spiritualité roumaine (martyrs roumains des prisons communiste, fêtes religieuses, pères et figures théologiques remarquables), événements qui réussissent d'intégrer un grand nombre de Français et de Roumains (de France et des autres pays), autour des invités et des sujets proposés.

J'ai conduit des enquêtes exploratoires à Paris, dans les régions parisiennes proches de la capitale française et dans la région Ile de France, avec les émigrés roumains venus en France avant et après la chute du communisme en Roumanie. Les enquêtes effectués (dans les années 2010-2013) ainsi que l'observation

participative documentent, de manière allusive, le réemploi et la transformation de certains éléments de l'ancienne structure cérémonielle pour les rites des passage: la précision de leurs rôles, la manipulation d'objets et de matières (le sapin, les pains, l'eau), des séquences rituelles (la procession de la mariée à l'église) mais surtout les usages et les rituels effectués pendant les fêtes du calendrier religieux ce qui fait l'objet de l'étude ci-présent; les rites orthodoxes et les nouveaux coutumes et pratiques instaurés dans l'espace de l'église roumaine cohabitent et y intègrent la communautés des Roumaines établis en France.

Temps sacré où l'homme et la nature sont transfigurés, la fête représente le temps créateur par lequel l'homme reçoit de nouveaux pouvoirs et ses faits ont une autre signification que celle habituelle. Par le rite et au delà de lui, la fête, en tant que temps qualitatif, régénère le monde et la vie.[2] Le message et la structure rituelle de l'événement sacré sont marqués et transmis par le biais de l'église. L'église a constitué et constitue encore, pour les Roumains, un facteur unificateur qui les réunit régulièrement pendant les dimanches et les fêtes, tant pour ceux qui sont restés dans la communauté que pour ceux qui sont partis. Cet aspect est présent aussi chez les Roumains orthodoxes établis à Paris, ou ceux qui y sont juste de passage. On rencontre les émigrés roumains ensemble, peut-être, en nombre plus grand par rapport à un dimanche "quotidien" à l'occasion des grandes fêtes de l'année: de Noël, Baptême, Pâques, pendant les samedis des parents, fêtes des ancêtres (d'été, d'automne et d'hiver) et surtout pour la fête patronale De nombreux immigrés roumains mais aussi des convertis venus d'autres traditions chrétiennes témoignent de l'orthodoxie en France qui accueille aujourd'hui un nombre de plus en plus grandissant des croyants dont ses communautés et ses structures se développent de plus en plus. Lié à une forte vague d'émigration, le nombre des paroisses orthodoxes roumaines a explosé en France. On peut dire que depuis une douzaine d'années, l'orthodoxie roumaine est en plein renouvellement et expansion grâce à cette nouvelle vague d'émigration.

La Métropole orthodoxe roumaine d'Europe Occidentale et Méridionale est confié au métropolite Joseph, un moine à la personnalité très charismatique, qui – à partir des années '90 – a la responsabilité de 130 paroisses roumaines en Europe occidentale. Cette structure comprend l'archevêché d'Europe occidentale (siège à Paris et juridiction en France, Suisse, aux Pays Bas, en Belgique, au Royaume Uni, en Irlande et en Islande, l'évêché d'Italie (siège à Rome) et l'évêché d'Espagne et de Portugal (siège à Madrid). En France on estime à 200 000 le nombre de fidèles orthodoxe repartis dans 80 paroisses et huit monastères. A Paris, la plus part des fidèles orthodoxes roumains se réunissent à la Cathédrale orthodoxe roumaine des Saints Archanges et à la crypte de la Paroisse Orthodoxe roumaine Sainte Parascève et Sainte Geneviève tant pour prier, pour assister à la liturgie et pour commémorer leurs morts que pour se trouver ensemble et pour socialiser. Situé rue

[2] Bernea 1985: 215.

Jean-de-Beauvais, dans le cinquième arrondissement parisien, la Cathédrale des Saints Archanges de la Métropole Orthodoxe Roumaine d'Europe Occidentale et Méridionale orthodoxe roumaine, se trouve au centre du quartier latin, entre la cathédrale Notre Dame, l'église Saint Julien le Pauvre, le Clos des bernardins, face à la Sorbonne, au Collège de France. Erigée au XIV siècle, le bâtiment était la chapelle du Collège de Beauvais qui appartenait au Collège des Dormans. L'occupation de la Roumanie par les Soviétique, après la deuxième guerre mondiale et l'installation du régime communiste ont déterminés de tragiques changements pour la vie de l'Eglise en général. A partir de ce moment-là, l'église des Saints Archanges a servi en tant que foyer des réfugiés et de l'exil. En 1947, Mgr. Visarion Puiu est arrivé à Paris et a fondé l'Association pour la Pratique du Culte Orthodoxe Roumain (APCOR), qui administre encore aujourd'hui l'Eglise; puis en 1949, en tant que métropolite, il a fondé la Diocèse Roumain d'Europe Occidentale, avec le siège à Paris. En 1957, le père Vasile Boldeanu, condamné à mort par le régime communiste, accepta la charge de supérieur de la communauté roumaine jusqu'en 1985. Plusieurs croyants roumains et une pléiade anonyme d'intellectuelles, d'artistes, de personnalités de tous les horizons ont prié dans cette église: le roi Michel, la reine Anne, l'écrivain Virgil Gheorghiu, l'historien des religions Mircea Eliade (qui fut conseiller paroissial), Eugene Ionesco, Constantin Brâncuşi, George Enesco, Henri Coandă, Emil Cioran, Elvire Popesco.

En 1998, L'Eglise des Saints Archanges quitta la juridiction canonique de l'Eglise Orthodoxe russe de l'Exil et se plaça, de 2000 à 2009, sous la juridiction de Mgr. Nathaniel, l'Archevêque de Detroit et de l'Episcopat Orthodoxe Roumains d'Amérique. La fin du régime communiste en Roumanie permit de renouer des liens avec l'Eglise mère et depuis 2004 d'importantes cérémonies religieuses ont eu lieu dans l'ancienne cathédrale avec la participation des évêques de Roumanie. L'année 2009, date symbolique, marque le passage sous la canonicité de Métropolite Joseph, Métropolite de l'Eglise orthodoxe Roumaine, d'Europe occidentale et Méridionale. Ici, la liturgie se déroule en roumain. Le Père Constantin Târziu, arrivé en France en 1980, supérieur de l'église, officie pendant la liturgie de chaque dimanche et des fêtes religieuses. "Quand les Roumains arrivent en France, ils ne savent pas trop ce qu'ils vont faire et frappent à la porte de l'église. Ils demandent plus que l'apport religieux. Les Roumains viennent ici pour se retrouver et en profitent pour parler leur langue. Lorsqu'ils ont des problèmes pour se faire payer, trouver un médecin, ils s'adressent spontanément à nous pour trouver de l'aide", raconte le père Nistea, l'un des trois prêtres de la paroisse. On y trouve surtout des gens modestes. De nouveaux venus (bulgares, russes, roumains...) ont rejoint les exilés et les descendants de l'émigration roumaine d'avant la révolution de 1989. Un temps pourtant, les regards de suspicion ont pesé sur les "ex-Soviétiques". Très pratiquants dans leur pays, ces émigrés le sont encore davantage en situation de déracinement.

A la crypte de la Paroisse Orthodoxe roumaine Sainte Parascève et Sainte Geneviève de Paris l'assistance est nombreuse: au moins trois cents personnes, jeunes, majoritairement des couples avec des enfants en bas âge, des étudiants, des intellectuels, des ingénieurs. La paroisse orthodoxe roumaine est hébergée depuis plusieurs années par la paroisse catholique Saint Sulpice qui célèbre au même moment son propre office à l'étage supérieur. La paroisse orthodoxe roumaine, qui se trouve à la crypte de la Cathédrale Saint Sulpice (catholique) connaît un réel succès. Le phénomène de l'orthodoxie devient marquant en France. D'habitude plus d'une trentaine de personnes assistent à la liturgie de dimanche. On officie la liturgie aussi trois fois même pendant chaque semaine. Au sein de la paroisse il y a une chorale qui chante en roumaine et en français, tandis que l'office se déroule en roumain et en français. Installée à la tribune, la chorale accompagne la liturgie qui se déroule à l'intérieur de la paroisse. Depuis l'arrivée du père Răzvan, la paroisse a repris une certaine jeunesse. Le jeune père Răzvan (42 ans), responsable de la paroisse, est un disciple de Mgr. Joseph. Il appartient à la nouvelle génération du clergé orthodoxe, très bien formée. Après des études scientifiques (notamment à Compiègne), il a entrepris des études de théologie à Paris, à l'institut Saint-Serge, réputé au sein de l'orthodoxie et il est devenu docteur en théologie.

A la crypte de Saint-Sulpice, l'iconostase – a donc été allégée pour permettre à l'assemblée une plus grande participation. "Les croyants viennent à l'église pour qu'ils puissent communier" ajoute une croyante au début de la messe. La paroisse roumaine Sainte Parascève et Sainte Geneviève, avec ses apports, soutient beaucoup l'orthodoxie française de demain.

„Lié, traditionnellement au besoin de rythmer le temps, de marquer les moments importants de la vie des gens par l'intermédiaire des pratiques accomplies dans un espace consacré, la fête implique aussi l'organisation des repas communes à des valeurs rituelles particulières"[3]. A Paris, les fêtes de fin de l'année commencent par la célébration de Saint Nicolas, quand les Roumains orthodoxes se trouvent tous à l'église pour assister à la liturgie consacrée au saint. Il faut préciser qu'avant chaque fête, à la veille, il y a les vêpres, auxquels un nombre assez fort des fidèles y participent. Ensuite, le lendemain, pour la liturgie du Saint Nicolas les fidèles sont présents pour y assister. Comme la fête avait lieu pendant la semaine de travail, la liturgie y commence à 7h du matin, parce que les gens vont aller à leur travail après la célébration et donc pour donner la possibilité à tous les fidèles d'assister à la liturgie. Après la divine liturgie ils se réunissent autour d'une agape, organisée à l'intérieur de l'église. On y croise de modestes ouvriers aussi bien que des artistes, des étudiants, des traducteurs, des médecins, des jeunes et des vieux. "L'Eglise est une communauté. On vient pour prier et participer à la vie de l'Eglise. En Roumanie, j'allais de temps en temps à l'église. Mais pas de la même

[3] Văduva 2011: 19.

manière qu'ici, où l'on encourage beaucoup les gens à communier"[4], explique Roxana, arrivée en France il y dix huit ans. A Saint-Sulpice elle a vécu une sorte de conversion. Quatre fois par semaine, elle vient, très tôt le matin, avant de se rendre à son travail, assister à la liturgie.

L'esprit communautaire de group des croyants roumains de Paris se reflète aussi au niveau des formes d'association et des pratiques qui s'instituent à l'occasion des fêtes du calendaire religieux. Toute suite après la fête du Saint Nicolas on commence à s'organiser pour le Noël. Les fêtes du Noël sont attendues avec beaucoup de joie par tout le monde. Les Roumains ont réussi d'adapter et encadrer les pratiques traditionnelles dans le nouvel espace.

Les enfants se préparent pour interpréter les chants de Noël, jouer les Irodes (*Irozii*) et tout le monde attend la fête du Noël. On connait le fait qu'autrefois "pendant la période des 12 jours festives qui se trouvent entre le Noël et Saint Jean, la communauté entière était impliquée dans la réalisation d'un mise en scène dramatique où toutes les catégories d'âges, genre et socio-professionnelles étaient incluses. Cela contenait des mises en scène à fonction rituelle (chants de Noël du group des hommes, le Charrue, la Joyeuse Baquette), des cérémonies (les chants de Noël des enfants, L'Etoile), des manifestations festives (le théâtre populaire à thématique laïque) L'élément masculin était impliquait dans la célébration et celui féminin était chargée de la médiation et aider la famille à accéder aux avantages de la fête"[5]. L'idée de l'expérience temporale devient un argument pour la compréhension de la fonction psycho-socio-culturelle que l'interprétation des chants de Noël a, c'est-à-dire la fonction de la manifestation et de l'expérimentation du sacré.

"Le rituel des chantes de Noël s'inscrit dans les pratiques traditionnelles anciennes et ses racines on le trouve dans la période de début de sa propagation. La tache principales de ceux qui chantaient les chants étaient cela d'intégrer le group de ceux qui écoutaient les chants dans le *sacré* extraordinaire de la fête; ils avaient suivis d'autres attributions: l'annonce de l'évènement de la sainte naissance, la joie, les vœux adressés a ceux qui s'impliquaient et participaient à cet événement"[6]. La coutume des chantes de Noël est pratiquée dans l'espace parisien, également, par les jeunes roumains (garçons et filles) qui fréquent l'église et qui font partie du groupe des deux chorales de la paroisse Sainte Parascève et Sainte Geneviève et de la Cathédrale des Saints Archanges. Sous l'aspect de la création du groupe de ceux qui chantent les chants de Noël, les fidèles se mettent ensemble à l'occasion des fêtes d'hiver. Donc, le groupe choral se prépare beaucoup d'avant à partir de la fête de Saint Nicolas, le 6 décembre. Les jeunes se réunissent trois fois par semaines dans l'espace de l'Eglise pour les répétitions des chants de Noël. On apprend que

[4] Roxana Truşcă, 36 ans, établie à Paris depuis 1997, enregistrée en 2013.
[5] Ispas 2011: 36.
[6] Ispas: 36.

pour la fête de Noël de 2013 une partie des croyants se sont réunis pour faire des répétitions pour les chants de Noël: "J'ai dit à plusieurs de venir pour apprendre et préparer la fête de Noël. On apprend beaucoup, chants; aussi traditionnels que des nouveaux"[7].

Un texte de chant de Noël représente juste une virtualité, l'élément musical est celui-là qui conditionne l'existence et le fonctionnement du chant en tant qu'épiphanie[8]. Ces chants vont être interprétés aussi pour le concert consacré à la fête de la Naissance du Fils de Dieu, aussi que pour les familles visitées à la veille de la fête de Noël. Le concert va avoir lieu d'habitude dans l'espace de la Cathédrale orthodoxe des Saints Archanges. Dans le cadre des deux paroisses orthodoxes, les enfants qui fréquent la catéchèse de chaque dimanche ont préparé à l'Eglise, eux aussi, un concert de chants de Noël, qui a été soutenu le dernier dimanche, d'avant la fête de la Naissance du Fils de Dieu. Les groups des jeunes filles et garçons qui sont constitués ont à la base le critère de l'appartenance aux chorales des deux paroisses. Pour chanter les chants de Noël, ils vont à la veille de la fête, chez les Roumains croyants, membres de la paroisse (prêtres, vieux, familles) ou même chez les Français qui sont proches des paroisses roumaines, pour leur chanter et leur faire des souhaites. Les textes des chantes de Noël étaient mémorisés par cœur. Le group était solidaire, il voulait souhaiter à un très grand nombre de gens. Ceux qui chantent préviennent les familles de leurs intentions de venir les voir ou, sinon ils sont invités par certains fidèles à venir les chanter les chants de Noël. Ils sont attendus et très bien reçus dans les maisons. "On a en vue la fonction d'intégrer l'espace des chants de Noël et les gens qu'ils habitent dans la dimension sacré de la Naissance du Fils de Dieu qui est chargé de la bénédiction du monde antérieure à celui augurale"[9]. On apprend d'Ema que pour la fête de Noël de 2013, elle, en tant que membre de la chorale de paroisse des Saints Archanges, est partie avec le group chorale chez certains Roumains et Français pour chanter les chants de Noël : "On est allé chez le père Răzvan, on est entré chez lui, on lui a chanté quelques chansons de Noël: *Sus boieri, Trei crai, Vine Crăciun cel Bătrân* [Boyards, réveillez-vous, Trois mages, Noël, le Vieux, arrive]. Après cela, lui et sa famille ont montré leur joie et ils nous ont offert des gâteaux; on a parlé, un peu"[10]. Ensuite, lors de la fête de Noël de la même année, la chorale a été scindée en plusieurs petits groupes, qui sont partis chacun à des copins pour chanter et souhaiter avant le Noël. "On a rendu visite chez Cristiana, une copine, dentiste en France depuis 5 ans; on lui a chanté *La Viflaim colo sus, Trei crai, O ce veste minunată!* [A Viflaim, en haut, Trois mages, O, quelle merveille nouvelle!]; après cela, elle nous a invité pour diner tous ensemble. On a gouté, on a parlé et on

[7] Lavinia Răican, artiste plastique, établie en France depuis 2008, enregistrée en 2013.

[8] Bălaşa 2000: 173 (cf. Ispas 2012: 26).

[9] Ispas: 29.

[10] Ema Toma, doctorante en histoaire de l'art à EHSS, en France depuis 10 ans; enregistrée en 2012.

a passé une soirée dans l'esprit de la sainte fête de Noël. On a fait tout cela pour conserver les traditions roumaines et pour rester attachés à notre foi orthodoxe", nous raconte Lavinia[11]. Les catégories du temps, le mouvement, le changement, le passage d'un état à l'autre symbolise "la réalité du temps quand les rencontre entre l'homme et Dieu ont lieu"[12]. La fête de Noël commence avec les vêpres du soir comme d'habitude et le lendemain les prêtres officient la liturgie de Noël. La célébration commence à 10 h. On se rassemble prés de l'iconostase, qui sépare le sanctuaire de l'assemblé. Tout le temps pendant la liturgie on parle le roumain et le français afin d'être compris par tous. Devant l'assemblé, le père Răzvan, le recteur de la paroisse, transmet: Notre théologie est une théologie de la présence et de l'amour de Dieu". Entre la lumières des bougies et l'atmosphère enveloppée par l'encens l'office se poursuit avec un mysticisme empreint de convivialité. Après les prières qui annoncent la communion, les enfants s'avancent pour se communier, puis les adultes. La présence d'un grand nombre des Roumains, chez les fêtes d'Hiver, est un signe de leur effort collective, pour maintenir la cohésion du groupe, assez bien perçu de l'extérieur par ceux qui sont venus des autres groupes proches de l'église. Chaque année, le 26 décembre, les Roumains orthodoxes se rendent à Limours au siège de la Métropole Orthodoxe Roumaine. Marius[13], un jeune théologien, nous témoigne comment il a passé à Limours la fête du Noël en 2013: "Là, tout suite après les vêpres du soir, on a assisté au concert de chantes de Noël à coté des autres groups de chorales: Le groupe orthodoxe des Roumains de Bessarabie et une chorale orthodoxe française. On a chanté: *Buna seara lui Ajun!, Colindele Judelui, Fecioara astăzi, O ce veste minunată!, Colind din Sălaj.*" On apprend aussi qu'à la fin, le Père Târziu a interprété, tout seul, *Pluguşorul* (Le charrue), ce qui a impressionné l'assistance et à inviter la plus part des gens de revernir vers leurs racines et vivre plus l'esprit des fêtes religieux et dans l'atmosphère de l'orthodoxie. Tout a continué autour d'un repas commun, par l'intermédiaire duquel les fidèles ont pu socialiser et élargir leurs réseaux. Pour le Nouvel An, on connait le fait qu'à ce évènement beaucoup de gens participent, pas seulement les Roumains de Paris mais ceux qui proviennent d'autres paroisses du pays et des autres pays. A la veille de la fête du Saint Basile le Grand, on organise les vêpres à l'église. Les fidèles viennent déjà chargés de plats, parce que après la messe qui se finit à 23h44 ils vont boire de la champagne, ils vont se faire des souhaites et passer quelques moments ensemble. "Je suis venu à l'église comme tous les années pour assister aux vêpres et pour rejoindre et passer la fête avec mes copines, parce que ensuite je vais rester et passer la nuit de Nouvel An avec elles. Demain je reviendrais à l'église pour la Liturgie de Saint Basile le Grand"[14]. Après la liturgie, ils se regroupent tout au fond de l'église, où d'autres roumains, qui

[11] Lavinia Răican, 30 ans, enregistrée en 2013.
[12] Lossky 2006: 77.
[13] Marius Buzățelu, 36 ans, enregistré en 2013.
[14] Mariana Burnel, enregistrée en 2013.

n'assistent pas à la liturgie arrivent eux aussi et rejoignent le group des fidèles de l'église. Ces rencontres se répètent assez souvent ce qui fait que les messages qu'ils se changent entre eux amènent des nouvelles infos. Pour la fête du *Baptême*, trois ou quatre cents des croyants, à deux pas du Quartier latin, à ce premier dimanche de janvier 2014, à la veille de la fête orthodoxe de la Théophanie, vont bénir les eaux de la capitale parisienne, en mémoire du baptême du Christ dans celle du Jourdain. "En tête du cortège, deux hommes robustes brandissant une icône figurant le moment clé de l'évangile"; derrière une oriflamme richement brodé le métropolite Joseph conduit sa procession, entourée de prêtres. Parvenu au pont au Double au pied de Notre–Dame de Paris, le cortège descend sur le quai. Entre le coteau de pierre et le parapet, la foule se masse à l'ombre d'une péniche. A trois reprises, Mgr Joseph immerge une croix de bois trois fois dans les eaux du fleuve. Puis dans une seconde geste, bénit l'assistance, sous le regard interloqué des touristes du monde entier. L'orthodoxie roumaine a toutes les peines de passer inaperçue tant sa présence est devenue incontournable dans l'Hexagone. "Peut être vous vous posez la question si par l'intermédiaire de cette fête du Baptême sont baptisés tous les chrétiens, si les catholiques, eux aussi sont baptisés. Eh bien, par cet événement toute la nature humaine est baptisée, la nature humaine entière, ainsi que toutes les eaux de la terre, à partir de cette nuit du Baptême de Dieu. Pendant cette fête il ne faut pas penser d'aller au travail, il faut absolument venir à l'église pour participer à la liturgie du Baptême"[15].

Pour les fêtes des ancêtres, ainsi que pour tous les samedis, des croyants apportent leurs paniers avec les plats préparés (en principal du vin, de la *coliva*) chacun pour ses morts, à l'église. Après les prières des prêtres consacrés aux morts, on partage la nourriture rituelle aux pauvres qui se trouvent à l'église et aussi chacun offre aux autres, comme ils ont appris de leurs parents; on organise chaque fois un repas de commémoration des morts en commun. Provenus de différentes zones du pays, chacun prépare la nourriture et la partage aux autres tels qu'il sait de ses parents. Les fêtes étaient partagées avec les autres. Le fait que les émigrés parisiens sentent le besoin d'être proches l'un de l'autre, d'être ensemble pendant les fêtes de l'église, à la manière de leurs parents, ca témoigne de leurs liens, avec les ceux qui sont morts. Ce lien n'est pas encore coupé, il y a encore, au moins pour une partie d'eux, une forte conscience de groupe. "Ces consommations rituelles s'accompagnent d'autres pratiques dont celle du *pomelnice*, un billet sur lequel on inscrit une liste de vivants et de morts que l'on remet au pope avec un peu de monnaie, quelques lei, pour qu'il les nomme à l'office. Enfin, chacun achète de longs et fins cierges en cire d'abeille qu'il allume et fiche dans un endroit réservé sous le porche de l'église"[16].

Provenus des milieux socio professionnels différents et des multiples zones en France, venus à des différents étapes de leurs vie, à l'âge de l'enfance, de la

[15] Mgr. Joseph, métropolite de l'Eglise orthodoxe en France.
[16] Fabre-Vassas 1995: 57–74.

jeunesse, pour des différentes raisons, en couple mixtes (roumano–français) ou roumains, les émigrés roumains ont construit des réseaux de sociabilité par le biais de l'église. Espace de socialisation, l'église roumaine de Paris représente un pôle culturel fort qui amène un grand apport pour la conservation et la mise en valeur de la spiritualité et de la tradition populaire roumaine, en Occident, dans la transmission de la foi orthodoxe auprès de la diaspora roumaine. Ils sont adapté la structure rituelle et cérémonielle de leurs pratiques dans le nouveau espace pour continuer la tradition et transmettre les messages de leurs fêtes. En même temps, l'église constitue un noyau social qui apport un vrai appui à intégrer les Roumains dans l'espace français en tenant compte de leurs difficultés et elle assume aussi une mission sociale dans les hôpitaux et les prisons de France. Par ses activités y organisées l'église roumaine a réussi à transmettre un témoignage envers la société passé par ses fidèles au sujet de leur foi, leurs culture et leur identité.

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MEDICAL PRACTICES IN RURAL ROMANIA: THE BIRTH

ELENA BĂRBULESCU

ABSTRACT

The paper is making a review on the information available in the manuscripts of Archive of folklore in Cluj-Napoca, regarding the homebirth at the beginning of the 20th century. The manuscripts are the results of an ethnographic inquiry on the topic of birth and childhood in rural areas of Romania. Seen from today, the information from manuscripts is amended or on the contrary debated with some of the ethnographic data on the topic gathered by the author in the past two decades.

Keywords: medicine, homebirth, child, medical anthropology, illness.

We live today in a digital era, when little by little almost every aspect of our life is technologized. The same situation has occurred inside the field of biomedicine, which is practically the type of medicine broadly accepted at least for European and North American societies. Hence, more and more areas of medicine are becoming highly technologized enhancing this way the prevalence of the body-machine concept inside the medical field. Still, there are also other trends of alternative and holistic medicine right in the middle of the North American space, the one that empowered biomedicine against other types of medical practices more than one hundred years ago, as Christopher Lawrence made a thorough analysis for the period 1914-1945 for the Western countries including United States:

> Nonetheless, the medical institutions created and the ideas and assumptions established before 1914, largely remained intact in this period and were built on rather than being jettisoned or radically modified. In the interwar years, orthodox medicine consolidated its authority in all areas: the home, the hospital, local and central government, the community, and industry. Universities and their associated hospitals were increasingly made into the seats of medical education and the sites where standards of care were set. (...) Laboratories became increasingly important as centres for diagnosis and seats of research. Funding for clinical medicine and for research increased markedly. (...) In 1913, the Rockefeller foundation was established. The foundation had a huge effect on medicine in this period. Medical manufacturing industries, especially the pharmaceutical industry,

> expanded rapidly. Drug companies became larger and introduced new forms of organization, management, and marketing. All these various sorts of change were often seen as evidence of 'modernization' or 'modernism' and their vital force, whether deemed spiritual or commercial, was usually found to lie in America.[1]

My interest in this paper is not with the biomedicine, but with what it is called empirical medicine, in the case of birth, as much as it is revealed by reviewing few manuscripts containing ethnographical material, gathered during the first decades of the 20th century across Romania.[2] Since in the past four years I have led a research team on the topic of modern medicine in the rural areas during communism, more precisely, the feedback of biomedicine in few Romanian villages, I will also bring forward comments and events from the communist period or the present as a comparative approach. After all, the interest for the past was born from present perspectives upon things.

Approaching the medical practices in rural areas of Romania is not a recent task. Following a general western trend, the interest in such a topic was started with the second half of the 19th century, by the work of folklorists such as Elena Niculiță Voronca, Tudor Pamfile, Simion Florea Marian, as well as physicians (N. Leon, Gr. Grigoriu-Rigo)[3], and continued at the beginning of the 20th century with researchers like I.A. Candrea, Emilian Novacoviciu, or Valer Butură, to mention just a few. They devoted their work to gathering and editing an important quantity of material that can be summarized as ethnomedicine, whether we are talking of magic, religion, or the use of plants during healing processes. Most of the times rural Romanians have had the simultaneous usage of different natural remedies, and the *descântec* [charm] seemed to have been the "key" to all illnesses.

As it happened elsewhere, the biomedicine tailored itself a way inside this remedies system, at first paralleling it, and then slowly taking overtaking and overpowering it.[4] At the crossroads of three empires, the Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg, the geopolitical life influenced the medical one, as some of the manuscripts show by debating the influences of that the Greek and German doctors have had in the pre-modern epoch, in different regions of Romania.[5]

> Sulzer in his history of transalpine writes: the science of medicine and surgery is not taught in Romania but abroad. Most of physicians are Greeks but also Romanian, German, Hungarian and Bulgarian. They live in both capitals (because there are no

[1] Lawrence 2006: 247-248. See also Kleinman 1995: 23-26.

[2] The manuscripts belong to Institutul "rhiva de Folclor a Academiei Române" [The Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy" Institute], Cluj-Napoca, and will be named in short as AFC followed by their identification number.

[3] Bărbulescu 2011a: 66-67.

[4] David le Breton 2009 (chapter four describes very well the situation of medical pluralism): 136-192.

[5] AFC 363, mss. of dr. Crăiniceanu.

> physicians and surgeons in the rest of the country) and have far less luck and experience, because there are many charlatans and spoiled sanitary agents. Still all have the title of physicians just as the pharmacists do and they are all Saxons from Ardeal. S.[ulzer] criticize also physicians in the hospitals in both capitals and show sympathy to poor peasants that would go to them, by saying that they would rather use the remedies resulted from their own heritage and experiences with herbs, and they would live longer than what these charlatans prescribe.[6]

During the interwar period – the manuscripts are dated in the 1930s – Romanians have had medical pluralism with a biomedicine increasing in power. Nevertheless great deal of the Romanian rural population has had little access to this type of medicine. Eventually, the communist regime has had the most powerful impact on the healing system and the way people related to it. In its battle with the "retrograde" thinking of the peasantry, medicine was an important as well as a complex field successes and errors. Rural people were forced to rally to a new concept on medicine based on a different concept of the body, as well as a different concept of where the illness was coming from. The bewilderment caused by such a huge change against the peasant mentality could be traced nowadays in the ways the rural people would relate to the medical system in general.

The aim of the present paper is to discuss the emergence and infiltration of modern medicine practices into the peasant minds, but mostly to present where they were about one century ago as it came up from reading the manuscripts found in the archive of the Institute of Folklore. These manuscripts belong to the scholarly effort of Ion Muşlea, who drew up questionnaires and sent them to the literate people in villages, having as result the *answers* to those questionnaires in the form of notebooks written by priests, teachers, and... students. The *answers* that I am using for the present paper are those referring to the *Questionnaire no. VI. The Birth.*

There are few particularities that come up after reviewing all the manuscripts on the mentioned topic. On the one hand, the information is indirect, because the manuscript writers are only seldom referring to their own illness/healing experiences, they constantly relating the information to what was general for the community they belonged at that time (native or not). On the other hand, the inconvenient situation here, from my postmodern perspective, is that they were... men only. This made that some of the information, medical or not, to be offered in a double indirect manner. This is more important if we think that in traditional medical system the agents of healing were in most cases *women*. Male healers have had a lower weight and they appeared mostly but not exclusively when the peasant resorted to the religious paradigm for their healing. Even today the agents of healing or the ones that make the connection between the sick and the healing systems in rural areas are women. This idea seems to be even more truly with the

[6] AFC 363, mss. of dr. Crăiniceanu: 14.

information we gathered from the past. Even though the information is scarce and scattered in some hundreds of pages of manuscripts, it has allowed us to compose an image of a "lost" world and its "agony". That world didn't die entirely, just parts of it, and the most attacked was its feminine side. Or how else could we interpret the disappearance of *descântec* [charm], performed almost entirely by women (and the prevalence of modern medicine with its representatives mostly *males*)? At first glance it would look like a gender specialization where the masculine won. Is this the case?

My intention in this paper is to point out the dynamic of medical knowledge along one century (the 20th century) when the paradigm of healing in general and that of birth in particular changed from feminine to masculine. This choice of topic – the birth, has as motivation the fact that it is presenting quite intensely this change of paradigms: from feminine to masculine, from traditional to modern, from empirical to scientific.

My junior years in field research put me in a situation of ghost chaser, as I could only seldom find in the reality of the village what I had read in the literature. Added to the recent reviewing of the manuscripts that experience led me to the idea that even the folklorists, in their works, one century ago, had turned a blind eye to whatever was not ritual, or did not fit their aesthetic approach on folklore. On the other hand the information presented in their works gives the appearance of a homogeneity that has completely disappeared in the manuscripts. I am doing now the trip in reverse, not to mourn or turn idyllic what was lost but to witness a different perspective upon things. Hence, my approach is trying to be more of an academic and diachronic approach on the ruptures and continuities in the medical flow for about one century, than simply describing empirical healing methods.

The other argument for choosing birth as related to empirical medical practices was the fact that it was related to a social context, linked to an assigned meaning[7] in the community that could not be reduced to simple rituals or practices and objects used as it would be the case with other medical matters. Consequently, birth could not be "cured" only through plants (herbs, concoctions etc.) so as to be seen through ethno-botanic lenses, nor only through *descântece* so as to solve the problems through a volume of *descântece.* Birth cannot be reduced to just one level of healing and it is not an individual matter. Birth was approached inside the Romanian rural culture in a "holistic healing"[8] manner, just as it was shown by Barbara Tedlock in her book focused on shamanism as a feminine practice, and her book suits very well the demonstration regarding the old paradigm of birth: the

[7] Sargeant 2011: 3 (where she is saying that the social organization of reproduction is linked to culture production and not a mere reflection of it).

[8] Tedlock 2005: 14.

magic-religious one. And feminine! Even more, Tedlock's idea was that birth was the first form of shamanism, and she tried to prove her point in all the pages of her book in a very convincing manner. Another author, Brigitte Jordan, has made extensive field researches in four countries aiming at applying Margaret Mead's systemic approach, and successfully proving that birth was in fact a cultural act as much as a biological one, and this was what brought interpretative coherence inside any cultural system it is performed.[9]

Returning to our archive of birth material, first of all we learn from the manuscripts that the child was brought by the fairies or the stork. That led me to interpreting the action as a secret, magical event, but also having a pragmatic, profane outcome: it included the birth into actions one does not question upon. It would not answer to both questions: how the baby got out, and most of all how the baby got inside the mother's body. I may say then, that it puts me in front of a very diplomatic answer to two very important questions postponing the awareness of sexuality to a later age and in certain different circumstances for the elder children:

> A midwife named Rafila Sâmbotean, 78 years old, now dead for a long time, said: "Here is your sister or your brother, the fairy brought him/her right now and put it on the stove. She came with him/her from the country of flowers (of fairies, woods, the heaven garden, of the dusk, of the night)".[10]

This euphemization of birth is telling more than it seems at a first glance. For researchers knowing the rural world it shows the integration of birth process inside the cultural and social events of the rural community. This is mostly visible in contrast with the situation depicted by some peasant women in the years following the fall of communism, when the birth was no longer a magical event and the conception was seen through the germinating seed metaphor[11]. The need for fairies or flowers or any other substitutes for the entities bringing the child into this world was turned into a pragmatic and logical deductive interpretation of the event. The situation brought forward the change of the metaphors, while showing at the same time an important turning toward a more pragmatic view of life. After all, along about one half of the century the rural imaginary lost a great part of the supernatural entities guiding their lives.

Birth itself is basically briefly accounted, to no surprise for the manuscripts where the writing is done by a male. The notes refer only to the main aspects, centered on the information known at a general level, with very few details. The

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[9] Jordan 1993: 8.

[10] AFC 620, Vasile Cuțcan, teacher, Bonț, Someș County, 1933.

[11] About ten years ago one woman explained to me that the baby was formed inside the mother's body just as the bread is growing in the oven, after she detailed the active role of the male semen in germinating inside a passive but nurturing female uterus. The sexual act was presented just like an agricultural act: the ploughing of the land, a metaphor so largely spread.

problem with the information was that it was mostly centered on the magic-religious side of the event, by emphasizing its link to the supernatural powers, while neglecting absolutely the people present and what roles they actually had at the time. Still, what we could learn of it is that the main characters in the event are: the mother and the midwife, and all manuscripts, as incomplete as may have been, point out that the father's role is absent or insignificant.[12] All manuscripts point out that *cuvada*[13] was absent. In this case we may think that the specified custom had disappeared at the end of 19th century, since the information gathered in the 1930s could not bring the least memory of it. The 20th century eliminated completely the father's role – symbolical or not – in the delivery of the baby as a couple's activity similar to the conception.

> When the time of birth comes, it is warned through pains that come in short sequences, the woman spread her hair, the other women braid it loose, put them around her head or they even let it loose on her back. They dress her up in a long white coat called *sugna*. They make the bed but do not put her into bed. They put her to sit on a chair or on the hearth. The midwife massages her on the belly with serpent like movements (spirals) and keeps encouraging her, she would not let her sleep. From time to time the midwife massages her on the belly and back and tell her to make herself labors [push the baby out]. Some old midwives tell *descântece* while massaging.[14]

The explanation became more detailed in the few manuscripts where the writers were females. They did feel the need to explain in detail the preparations done right before birth: if they used plants or not, when exactly and why the woman kneeled, and of course why the woman gave birth down on straws (in the villages where this was the custom):

> For birth, the following preparations are done:
> In a pot a weed called *navolnic,* cherry and apple tree flowers are boiled, then that is drunk by adding also some gun powder.
> To ease and speed the birth the parturient makes a whole body bath. They put two eggs in the bath and they unlock the lockers. This bath is softening the bones – they could open easier. They also believe that they give birth easy if they [the parturient] take the garbage out in the lap.
> Then they let loose the hair of the pregnant woman, they take the beads from her neck and hit the threshold three times.
> If she has problems with somebody (she dislikes somebody), she would not give birth as long as that person is inside the house; they must take him/her out. She must behave herself

[12] Marian-Bălaşa 2013. This, however, was very different from the situation of the field research done by me in a few Transylvanian villages in the 1990s. Some women here recounted that their husbands were, from case to case, present and helpful when they gave birth (Bărbulescu 2009: 60).

[13] *Cuvada* – a symbolical simulation of birth done by a male at the same time with the actual birth. The custom was presented in detail by S.Fl. Marian and Elena O. Sevastos.

[14] AFC 620, Vasile Cuţcan, teacher, Bonţ, Someş County, 1933.

> when the pains allow her so as to be helpful, by making forces/pushing. The woman gives birth down on the straws. For pushes she kneels where she needs it, by a chair, a bench, a bed, or kneels between her husband's legs, if she wants it and she likes him.
> I asked why did they give birth down? Answer: The Holly Mother born Jesus Christ not in bed but down on straws. And we prize ourselves more? Who gives birth in bed prepares a fire bed in the other world. To make the pains come often, she is given warm juice of boiled barley with *navolnic*.
> To speed up the birth, the pregnant woman unsew the rim of the shirt and tears it from collar down. There are also *descintece* to ease the pains: for evil eye, for the path and for destiny.[15]

The quote above is a proof of the social connections existent inside the community and the relations inside the family of the parturient. There is an insistence on the birthplace by the actions of magic: a recurrent image of *unlocking*, by opening everything that is closed or tied or locked. In a medical paradigm, this quote is presenting the rural *savoir faire* in birth-giving: a prevalence of culture over nature.

An inconsistency in the case of birth is that referring to the "impurity" of the mother and her banning to go out of the house for six weeks, until she passed the ritual of purification (the *molitva*).[16] While the manuscripts of the archive mentioned highlighted this information regarding the banning to go out as being crucial, and so leaving the impression that it was fiercely observed, newer researches – and even some of the manuscripts – showed again that in practice it was not systematically pursued.[17]

> For eight days after birth the parturient is believed to be absolutely unclean and she is not allowed to touch anything or to go outside. After eight days she needs to do a *molitfă* (a kind of liturgy) to the priest and wash herself with holly water. If she would do anything in those eight days of banning they say the earth she stepped on would burn nine elbows deep (the elbow is a measure unit about ¾ of one meter).[18]
> The post parturient woman must change her clothes each day. She is oiled-up (massaged) by a woman who knows these things and what to use for it.[19]

If it had such huge importance how could it have perished in less than fifty years? Most probably those manuscripts were trying to present an ideal situation than a real one at the time of their writing. Some of their authors even deplore the losing of old customs, and the disappearance of old midwives that were the keepers

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[15] AFC 884, Elena Gh. Stan, teacher, Uda-Tătăruşi, Baia County.

[16] Marian-Bălaşa 2013.

[17] Again numerous contemporary stories about the deliveries that occurred in the second half of the 20th century present that most women resumed work in the household of even in the field right in the third day after birth (see Bărbulescu 2010 and Bărbulescu 2011b).

[18] AFC 779, Ioan Tănăbui, teacher, 1935, Bodeştii-de-sus, Neamţ County.

[19] AFC 744, Mircea T. Lupaş, V-th grade, "Aurel Vlaicu" Highschool, Orăştie, 1935, Sălişte, Sibiu County.

of the old "know-how". Seen it from today, it is hard to believe that a parturient woman could always stay confined in the house for six weeks, as a general rule, if we take into consideration the season of the year when the birth took place or the position of the mother inside the enlarged family. On the other hand, we should not forget that the communist regime gave a tough blow to religious beliefs during the second half of the 20th century, and this could turn indeed the fact to the other extreme, as it could also blur the memories about those actions in the past.

The new trends in medical anthropology bring more into discussion the close connection between culture and health as opposed to the limited perspective of biomedicine. After the WWII the "Western medicine extended to an unprecedented degree" just to loose ground after the 1970s, when "the new suspicion of medical competence and medical probity increased as academics and interest groups began publicly to question medical authority"[20]. Thus inside the biomedical field have appeared concerns that pay attention more and more to the way people actually live, and how the way of life influences the health of the people[21]. We hear more and more of risk factors, protective factors etc. The birth in the old times was fully framed into this type of perspective, and I could still trace this idea in some of the manuscripts that stressed the fact that the woman must "work hard" before the birth so as to give birth easier. The logical deduction here was that lack of work was a risk factor for a good birth. Moreover, the story about burning the earth if the post-parturient walks on it seems to suggest the increase of risk factors. The village community was circulating a strong story to make sure that the ban would be observed, at least in theory. Consequently, the pregnancy taboos (not to watch, not eat etc.) may constitute what the modern medical system sees as *protective factors*.

The third problem the manuscripts were insisting upon was the illnesses the child might have had. First of all the rural mothers tried by all means to prevent the sickening of the infant. Only after the baby got sick their mothers resorted to remedies. The most often used were the *descântece*. The main action was ascribed to *descântece* leaving for a secondary plan the other remedies sending towards magic by similitude or contact. Summing up the manuscripts there were three main illnesses: taking the baby's milk, taking the baby' sleep, and the blotches, but also others as one manuscript inventoried them:

> a) One illness the infants have is the "overcrying", that is the infant is crying all the time. To get rid of it they proceed this way: After the baby falls asleep at night, the mother takes the hatchet and hit it in the door of the attic by saying: "Come black *hoancă* from the forest, you dried crippled, in the attic thrown away, you *dala* overcrying that took the laughter. You take the torment and leave the rest. And leave him clean and lighted like the clean silver, like in the hour of his birth when nothing

[20] Bynum–Hardy–Jacyna–Lawrence–Tansey 2006: 406-407
[21] Winkelman 2009: 20.

bad he had". This is repeated nine times and after, she comes with the hatchet and puts it under the cradle.
b) Another illness is the "scaring" manifested through startles and cries during sleep. To get rid of it they proceed like this: they take a *spată* from the loom and move it over the baby's body from toes to head by saying: seven scares in the walls, six scares in the walls, five etc., one scare in the walls, the scare be in the wolf's tail: wolf in the woods, the child at home, clean and lighted like the silver, like in the time of his birth, when nothing bad he had. Amen.
c) Sighing, that is when he breathes often and hard. To get rid of it: 1.one takes the infants by two cousins having the same name three times between two twined plum trees. 2. The mother gives the infant to suckle through a hemp circle baked in a new oven. 3. The mother gives him to suckle through the wheat wreath brought up from the Ascension 4. When the sigh is persistent he is taken to 9 sticks of the fence by one brother and sister, or by two cousins (a girl and a boy). These would pass him under the sticks saying: "N. will be sighing when my sister will be my wife". Then the sister says: "When my brother will be my husband". This is done in a Wednesday or a Friday, at dawn, before the sunrise.
d) The dog's illness, when the child is weak and hairy on his cheeks just like the dog. To get rid of it, you wash him with the water used to wash the dog and the cat. If it would not go away, you go on a Saturday night at the cemetery and take 9 weeds from 9 graves by saying: "Good evening to you (saying the name of the dead)". (...) On Sunday morning you put those weeds in the child's bath and then you throw them on the road so as the people coming from the church to step on them.
e) For whooping cough you give the child donkey milk.
f) for *Babiţa*, you rub his belly with vinegar and ash by saying: "*Babituţa*, *babituţa* get out from the child' womb", three times.
g) When the child is sleepless, you go to the pigsty and you take straws and put them in the child's cradle.
h) If you let the washing water boil, he will get *clocotie* [boils] having lot of bumps on the body. You put a weed named *clocotie* in his bath.
i) From *faptu* the children get sick if you forget their swaddles during the night and the dew falls on them. You have to shake the cloths over the fire.
j) For mouth ache, a peacock feather is passed through his mouth.
h) If a woman on menstruation visits the house and she would not tell it, the child will have bumps. If you know the person, you wash the baby with the water that has the cloth of that woman.[22]
The bad sighing sickness is known to the infants. It is healed with *descântece* but I could not find anyone to tell the *descântec*. Today it is healed with physicians and medicine.[23]

Nowadays, to any reader of these manuscripts here comes the blunt question: did these remedies really work? Well, I hardly found any trace of these remedies in the ten villages, studied by me in the 1990s except the one with the menstrual blood. If one gets close enough to a village community he/she might be told that the son/daughter of their neighbor has his/her face full of stains, usually red, due to that kind of accident in his/her infancy: the new-born baby was visited by a

[22] AFC 3674, Siritelec, Bihor, County, Lazăr Onchis teacher, 1934.
[23] AFC 620, Vasile Cuţcan, teacher, 1933, Bonţ, Someş County, 1933.

menstruating woman – and kept secrecy of her condition. Should one "blame" here the non-efficiency of modern medicine in finding a cure and so the traditional remedy kept its power? It could be possible but not a complete answer since the present day infants are no longer having any stains on their faces. We may anticipate that the information gathered in the future thirty years will not have a trace of this kind of problem regarding infant's well-being. The similitude will lose its power or as some women told us few years ago when relating detailed stories about the genesis of such stains, they avoid now to visit a new-born and his/her mother when they are menstruating. Another matter here is that most of remedies seem used at that specific time just to see if they work or not; they look like scattered memories of something that probably once proved homogeneity. The peasant world was tearing apart under the influence of capitalism at the beginning of the 20th century and with it the everyday life changed making room for (the drug) *Nurofen*[24] instead of the straws from the pigsty for example, or for different pills instead of *descântece*. The only *descântec* that I could still find as largely used in the villages of my researches is the one for evil eye. The names of the illnesses sound unfamiliar to a nowadays researcher, while others like "overcrying" have been recently solved with the ready-made pampers that keep the child dry instead of cloths that were forever wet. Most women interviewed nowadays have made the connection between pampers and the babies' good sleep.

Affecting both the mother and the child, loosing the baby's milk was a very seriously event. If today the main ritual linked to the matter refers basically to mother's nourishment, one hundred years ago was more of a social matter than a physiological one. The information regarding the food of the mother is scarce but the ones referring to the malefic or innocent actions of the people (in fact other women in the community) is quite abundant in the texts making of this matter a problem of the enlarged community of women in the village: it was so easy to let the baby without his/her nourishment, since there were numerous stories, even told in present days, about the fact that the milk "moved" from woman to woman. The women visiting the parturient had to do certain rituals to be sure they would not leave the house with the baby's nourishment. I might sense in this situation a defensive action of the mother regarding the relation between the infant and the community he would enter, by placing into a symbolical level what was happening so often in the profane one. The acceptance of the new born baby as a member of community had to be done without any negative influence on his/her nourishment under the conditions when losing the milk was a common happening, and thus offering some "warranties" that he would have a part/his part from the common resources inside the community.

[24] Mothers in the villages today give their infants *Nurofen syrup* as remedy for fever, cough, and minor pains.

> Three days after birth you don't give anything to a stranger to take it away, so as not to take the mother's milk. If a strange woman comes into the house and sit next to the cradle or by the mother's bed, she must leave a sign by saying: "Your boob remains with you and mine comes to me". This must be done so as not to take the mother's milk. If the woman loses her milk, then she tries to do so: She takes the baby's ribbon and ties it to the smallest toe of the right leg and so she walks after the sunset to running water by saying: "Help me Mother Mary, Holly mother because I would not go downwards but I go for my milk; it (the boob/milk) would not have rest like the running water until it comes back to me in my veins, in my breast so as to feed and sweeten him. Amen". If there is no running water she goes to the village well by saying: "Help me Mother Mary, Holly Mother, because I don't go for somebody's breast but for mine and quickly it come back to me like the source of the well, from the village through the fence, from the country in the evening, from the world tomorrow, in my breast and my veins, to feed and sweeten my baby, amen". This is done each evening until the milk comes back.[25]

Still most manuscripts relate about the healing powers of the breast milk: it would cure the baby of most of the child illnesses but more often then not it would cure and rejuvenate the adult members of the community.

> The woman's milk is good for eye ache. It is also good to make different ointments to cure different illnesses: *sugel, buboaie, uime, bubă-mierie, sgaibă şi alte bube* (blotches). The woman's milk is good for sore throat and the mouth and neck aches. Socaci Indrei, 75 years old, told forty years ago that the milk from a young woman was good to make men and women younger, when they were fifty-sixty, that after they would have suckled for one year they became young as in their 20s. He told that he saw a Hungarian gentleman, who looked very old, and he owned a lot of land in many villages. He lived mostly in Dej. He didn't see him for two years and when he did he didn't recognize him because he looked as in his 20s and someone else told him that that man was a landlord and that he turned younger by living for a year in an estate where he hired a wet nurse who turned him young again. The old man said the landlord lived for another sixty years. He also said that many turned younger that way. The milk of a woman is good to cure many illnesses. We have a girl, 14 years old, that had scarlet fever when she was one year and two months old, and turned so thin that the physician said she would not live. And so I told my wife to give her breast again, as she was weaned for two months, and her mother still had milk. She did so and in two weeks the girl was fully healthy and turned fat and was well to everyone's wonder. I saw this with other families too, where children were given breast milk again and they perfectly healed.[26]

The interesting part of the quote above is that there is no mention that would turn it ironic, as it happened in present times when interviewing women about the matter[27]. The person telling the story had been quite confident in the rejuvenating powers of the breast milk. At a different level it has shown the community's

[25] AFC 3674, Lazăr Onchiş, teacher, 1934, Sititelec, Bihor County ("It was heard from Ana Lansani, 66 years old").

[26] AFC 620, Vasile Cuţcan, teacher, Bonţ, Someş County, 1933.

[27] See Bărbulescu 2010: 290.

possession over a very important natural resource: the milk, and has brought one to the previous situation when there were different rituals involved so that nobody else would have access to the infant's milk. The situation made the adult male a serious competitor for a baby's milk and the perils of undernourishment of the baby quite real.

The stunning part of these medical practices referring to the birth is that there were so little or no mentions at all to the plants and the way they were used at the time or to other remedies. It might be linked to the disappearance of the old knowledge that the old midwives had, or it might be the unintentional omission of the writer. In some texts what the midwife was doing at the time of the birth is gotten short shrift in a sentence as if something not worth describing. The storyteller, a male, was so focused on his own will by the magical paradigm that he omitted to ask simple questions like for example how those midwives sterilized the objects used to cut the umbilical cord[28]. This was quite an important issue, as Brigitte Jordan developed in her book upon birth in four cultures since it proved as one example of incongruence between the modern and traditional ways of birth-giving. In her opinion the way these objects were sterilized in modern medicine did not fit the local conditions of the birth place and brought negative outcomes. On the other hand it is quite hard today to think that they didn't use other remedies but magic for delivery when just by looking at other traditional communities (non-Romanian, non-European) we see as present some forms of remedies linked to profane/medical/empirical world as well: for example the Maya midwives used to sterilize the belly button by burning its edge with a candle[29] – a method proven more effective since they misuse the boiling water or the alcohol methods due to the actual conditions of the birth. In the researches done regarding home birth during the communist period, women were talking about certain teas given to the parturient and even about brandy with the specific aim of *cleaning* the woman. Cleaning here has the meaning of getting out the placenta in the best conditions and also preventing the overbleeding.

We could notice though that the language in the manuscripts already used at that time the words: "medicine", "illness", and referred to the parturient as to a *sick/ill* person, in Romanian: *medicină, boală, bolnavă*. Novacoviciu[30] already used the term "house medicine", by this showing that the medical paradigm won enough space so as to occupy the position of "authoritative knowledge"[31], by attaching the word *medicine* to the word *house*. It made us think that the remedies were preferred in pharmacological shape and were related to modern medicine and it showed also

[28] See Jordan 1993: 210-211.

[29] Jordan 1993: 181.

[30] The reference is made quite in the title of one of his books: Novacoviciu 1927.

[31] Kleinman 1995: 27; Jordan 1993: chapter 6: 151-169, *The Achievement of Authoritative Knowledge in an American Hospital Birth.*

a close connection between Romania and the Western countries, as the period after the WWI was the time when modern medicine or biomedicine had won the "battle" with the other type of medical practices.[32] There is still not obvious a hierarchy of these two approaches as it happened later in the second half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the woman that gave birth was already referred to as the "ill person", and this adding up to the reference of the loss of "old midwives" who knew what to do and belonged to the old paradigm, when the state of the woman giving birth was defined as natural and not as an illness, might compose a picture of a dynamic of the place the birth was taking at the beginning of the 20th century. We still have had rituals of the old paradigm but framed in the new paradigm where the birth is just another "illness".

The 21st century has brought birth again to its "roots" by the new medical trends that have started a crusade against C-section and reviving the "natural" birth as part of the general trend of "going natural". The only problem is that these "natural" births take place in hospitals, which is contradictory, and no young woman seems to be willing to give birth at home. Consequently we have the reference solely to the body and the birth as a mechanic act of expulsion. The natural birth as it looked one century ago was more than that, since it was a symbiotic act of body, mind, place and people present. Natural means more than opposing genital delivery to cesarean section. It means a holistic approach of the pregnancy and delivery. It is linked to an entire way of life. It has been proved scientifically that the place of the birth has great importance in the event[33]. Lots of "tiny" details compete to compose the complex action of bringing a child into this world.

In conclusion, the medical practices used in the case of birth moved along one century from empirical and magical to modern medical and technological medical just to witness a revival of empirical methods without the religious and magical component, as yet. The future might bring again a religious contagion to the birth just as it did with the general social life in Romania after the fall of communism.

As a whole these manuscripts are catching the moment when the paradigms had been changing, from magical religious to medical. The information in manuscripts is unequal: some notebooks have a detailed description of the whole process from pregnancy till baptism, some note just few important steps of the process and others simply remember few situations that are very briefly drawn upon. The birth is re-told by men, and this makes visible the holding back of the writer regarding certain topics, and with other subjects we could notice the frequent and detailed quotation of a midwife: "Rafila Sâmbotean, who was 78 years old but now dead for a long time..." as if trying to offer more authenticity to the story.

[32] Bynum–Hardy–Jacyna–Lawrence–Tansey 2006: 320-323, and the whole chapter 3, *Continuity in crisis: medicine, 1914–1945*: 247-405.

[33] Jordan 1993.

Birth was no longer a feminine and community event but a medical condition, even though the writers could not give yet any details about the "medicines" involved in the process, and were not able to describe the event in medical terms. After all, about fifty years of forced medicalization during the second half of the 20th century succeeded in deleting thousands of years of experience regarding birth. Moreover it made the folklorists describing the phenomenon in the 19th century look like gold miners, digging for the precious knowledge of old times. It sure looks strange today that the birth described by folklorists at the end of 19th century looks so homogenous, so round, and after less than fifty years, at the beginning of the 20th century have such an incomplete image, with sparse elements. The turn of the centuries was a period of high cultural changes; the way these changes affected birth would make the idea of "mentality changes very hard" seems quite obsolete. I still think the "image" lies in the eyes of the beholder – be him/her a folklorist, a priest, a student etc.

The stories of home birth collected at the end of the 1990s have brought again a disruption in knowledge in general and in the knowledge of childbirth in particular. Seen as a feminine business (even though the man was not excluded as participant) the siege against home birth in the communist period mingled with the pronatalist policy of the late period of the regime, might be seen today as a siege against feminine knowledge by a masculine state. This idea is also backed up by the vocabulary used at the time, when the child was referred to as "the product of conception" and mothers were children *producers* for the nation – a very mechanical, humiliating doctrine.

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"LE MANIFESTE DE LAUSANNE" ET L'ANTHROPOLOGIE ROUMAINE

NICOLAE PANEA

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude analyse l'actualité de l'anthropologie culturelle de la perspective du *Manifeste de Lausanne*, l'auteur s'interrogeant sur la façon dont cette science est adaptée aux nouvelles réalités sociales. Après avoir examiné les principales attitudes récentes par rapport au changement de la rhétorique de l'anthropologie, l'auteur présente le corollaire conceptuel qui forme une anthropologie non hégémonique, conformément aux signataires du *Manifeste de Lausanne*. La partie finale de l'article se concentre sur la compatibilité de l'anthropologie roumaine avec la nouvelle perspective théorique et le nouveau positionnement.

Mots-clés: anthropologie culturelle, hégémonie, repenser le domaine, anthropologie roumaine.

L'anthropologie n'est plus depuis longtemps la science liée génétiquement au colonialisme. La seconde moitié du XX[e] siècle connait une véritable mondialisation de la science, comprise, cette fois-ci, comme une extension de ses préoccupations à l'humanité entière, une humanité en un changement profond dont émerge une énorme "variété de formes culturelles"[1] une économie mondiale intégrée, portant également avec soi-même des inégalités héritées ou nouvellement créées, de nouveaux modèles de consommation, des médias capables de diffuser une variété impressionnante de formes culturelles partout dans le monde presque instantanément, une migration transnationale importante, des flux de réfugiés, une diaspora en tant que réalité internationale, le tourisme à long terme, des organisations internationales, des mouvements transnationaux, la criminalité transnationale, les organisations terroristes, le développement de la science, notamment la nanotechnologie, la génétique et les sciences de la neurobiologie, ce qui altère la perception humaine elle-même.

[1] Hannerz 2012: 19.

Toutes ces transformations produisent des questions essentielles telles que: qu'est-ce que nous entendons par culture (Hannerz disait ce qu'on voulait certainement pas comprendre par la culture[2], se référant sans doute au nombre exorbitant de définitions!), qu'est-ce que nous comprenons aujourd'hui par terrain, comment pensions-nous une recherche sur le terrain, dans ces conditions, quel est notre statut, ou bien celui de la science.

Ces transformations atteignent l'anthropologie comme un bombardement de particules, en la divisant en plusieurs anthropologies, chacune de ces sous-sciences essayant de délimiter un espace à soi, une méthodologie, une thématique, un style propre.

À ce défi complexe du référentiel on s'ajoute un autre, celui de la communication, à savoir, de la langue dans laquelle la communication est faite. Le statut de science coloniale de l'anthropologie du XIXe siècle et de la première moitié du XX^{e} siècle, lui a assuré un développement dans la métropole et donc dans la langue de l'empire. La mondialisation a apporté avec elle, en outre les vieilles réalités linguistiques, d'autres nouvelles, liées à la multitude de *home anthropologies* qui prétendent être écrites dans les langues nationales et le handicap de la barrière de communication établi par cette réalité linguistique.

Face à ces défis, le monde de l'anthropologie a des comportements différents, généralement engageants, certains de manière ponctuelle, d'autres, de manière plus complète. Un des plus engageants est ce qu'on pourrait appeler génériquement, *Le Manifeste de Lausanne*, un exemple de positionnement critique de l'anthropologie envers le monde où elle existe et envers soi-même.

La position de ceux qui, de manière non formelle, représentent le groupe de Lausanne et en particulier les précisions conceptuelles sont, dans ce contexte des changements, définitoires pour une science qui étudie "l'universalité des cultures"[3], ne peut plus, d'une part, rester confinée à un cercle étroit de spécialistes et doit donc relier sa taxonomie et son objet d'étude aux nouvelles réalités.

Il semble être une préoccupation constante des chercheurs de l'ancien continent, au moins pour une "réaction prospective", circonscrite à ce contexte du début: de siècle, de millénaire, de monde sous son aspect global, quand la science qui étudie, en compétition, tous ces "débuts" doit s'adapter aux nouvelles réalités.

Ainsi, Ulf Hannerz écrit *Anthropology's World* [Le Monde de l'anthropologie] (2010) auquel il ajoute le sous-titre *Life in a Twenty-First Century Discipline* [La Vie dans une discipline du XXI^{e} siècle] et qui se termine par un chapitre scrutant le milieu du siècle.

Toujours en 2010, à Palerme, un congrès auquel participent en général des anthropologues européens (Mondher Kilani, Helena Wulf, Ulf Hannerz, Gabriella D'Agostino, Vincenzo Matera), intitulé *Elogio dell'antropologia, o il mestiere d'antropologo* [Éloge de l'anthropologie, ou le métier d'anthropologue], démontre

[2] Idem: 20.
[3] Amselle 2001.

la même préoccupation constante concernant la place que l'anthropologie occupe dans la société contemporaine et, en particulier, la signification du métier d'anthropologue[4].

La question préoccupe intensément le monde de l'anthropologie et même le manifeste de Lausanne possède comme certificat de naissance un tel congrès, ayant pour thème: *Anthropologie et la mondialisation. Terrains et enjeux disciplinaires* qui a eu lieu en 2007, à l'Université Laval, à Québec, pour célébrer trente ans d'existence de la revue *Anthropologie et société*. D'ailleurs, sans aucune connexion directe à notre sujet (bien qu'il y ait une subtile!) nous ne pouvons pas rester sans réaction devant une coïncidence suggestive, croyons-nous, car Lyotard écrivait un texte programmatique, *La Condition postmoderne. Rapport sur le savoir* qui, même s'il a été publié en France en 1979[5], a été rédigé à la demande du gouvernement du Québec, dans un autre moment de crise/bilan. Son texte a changé la façon de penser le monde!

Le Congrès de Québec a eu comme résultat la publication de deux ouvrages qui anticipaient la prise de position de Lausanne: *Réinventer l'anthropologie? Les sciences de la culture à l'épreuve de la globalisation* (2008) et *À la périphérie du centre. Les limites de l'hégémonie en anthropologie* (2009). Les rencontres et les débats sur ce sujet ont continué en 2008 à Neuchâtel, au Musée de l'ethnographie, en 2009 à Vancouver, à British Columbia University, au Congrès de la Société canadienne d'anthropologie, en 2010 à la Nouvelle Orléans, à l'occasion du congrès de l'*American Anthropological Association* et en 2011 à Libreville, dans le cadre du Département d'anthropologie de l'Université du Gabon.

Le projet a pris, cependant, une forme définitive à Lausanne en 2010, au cadre du Laboratoire d'anthropologie culturelle et sociale de la Faculté des sciences sociales et politiques de l'université suisse. Les rédacteurs du manifeste étaient Francine Saillant[6], Mondher Kilani[7] et Florence Graezer Bideau[8], mais en outre d'autres anthropologues y ont contribué, soit par interventions, soit avec des clarifications conceptuelles: Irène Bellier[9], Catherine Benoît[10], Jacques

[4] D'Agostino–Matera, *Prefazione*, in Hannerz 2012: 7–8.

[5] Lyotard 1979.

[6] Francine Saillant est professeure au Département d'anthropologie de l'Université Laval, directrice du Centre d'Études de linguistique, arts et traditions. Elle a conduit la revue *Anthropologie et sociétés* et a été présidente de la *Société canadienne d'anthropologie*.

[7] Mondher Kilany est professeur d'anthropologie et directeur du Laboratoire d'anthropologie culturelle et sociale de l'Université de Lausanne.

[8] Florence Graezer Bideau est chercheuse au cadre du Laboratoire d'anthropologie culturelle et sociale de l'Université de Lausanne, directrice adjointe du Centre pour des aires et études culturelles de l'École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne et coordinatrice de Minor in Contemporary Asian Studies.

[9] Irène Bellier est directrice du Laboratoire d'anthropologie des institutions et des organisations sociales (CNRS-EHESS), vice-présidente du Groupe international de travail pour les peuples autochtones et du Groupe d'étude de la mondialisation et du développement.

[10] Catherine Benoît enseigne l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale à Conneticut College.

d'Adesky[11], Michelle Daveluy[12], Nicoletta Diasio[13], Adriano Favole[14], François Laplantine[15], Joseph J. Lévy[16], Pierre Joseph Laurent[17], Raymond Mayer[18], Stéphanie Nkoghe[19].

Leur écriture est marquée par la construction d'une anthropologie non-hégémonique, le terme n'ayant de lien génétique ou conceptuel avec la théorie néo-marxiste conceptuel de Gramsci que tangentiel, mais étant plutôt utilisé dans son sens purement étymologique.

En analysant le rapport entre le savoir et le pouvoir hégémoniques dans le cadre social, une anthropologie non-hégémonique veut être un instrument capable d'intercepter et reproduire ces phénomènes de résistance et de créativité culturelle qui échappent à ces pouvoirs et formes de connaissance, en les mettant en discussion.

> Grazie a un'analisi acuta e senza concessioni dei mondi contemporanei e delle loro derive, gli antropologi firmatari del *Manifesto di Losanna* e quelli che ne condividono le proposte cercheranno di mettere a nudo le fondamenta degli egemonismi e dei codici che li costituiscono.[20]
>
> ["Grace à une analyse pointue sans concessions des mondes contemporains et de leurs dérives, les anthropologues signataires du *Manifeste de Lausanne* et ceux qui partagent les propositions vont essayer à mettre à nu les fondements des hégémonies et des codes qui les constituent."]

Dans la préface qu'Adriano Favole signe pour l'édition italienne du manifeste[21], il résume ainsi la contribution de ses collègues:

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[11] Jacques D'Adesky est chercheur au cadre du Centro de Estudos das Américas de l'Université "Candido Mendes" de Rio de Janeiro, coordinateur du programme Sud-Sud (2007-2008), du Consejo latino-americano de ciencias sociales de la Buenos Aires et président du Centro brasileiro de informaçao e documentaçao do artista negro.

[12] Michelle Daveluy est professeure au Département d'anthropologie de l'Université Laval, de l'Université Alberta et de l'Université Saint Mary's. Elle est chercheuse au Centre d'études linguistiques, arts et traditions de l'Université Laval, à l'Institut canadien circumpolaire et à l'Institut pour le patrimoine francophone d'ouest de l'Université Alberta (Edmonton).

[13] Nicoletta Diasio est maître de conférences à l'Université de Strasbourg et membre du Laboratoire Culture et société en Europe, de CNRS.

[14] Adriano Favole enseigne l'anthropologie culturelle et l'ethnologie de l'Océanie à l'Université de Turin, Italie.

[15] François Laplantine est professeur émérite de l'Université Lyon 2, France.

[16] Joseph J. Lévy est professeur au Département de sexologie de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada.

[17] Pierre Joseph Laurent conduit le Laboratoire d'anthropologie prospective de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgique. Depuis 2011 il est membre de l'Académie Royale de Belgique.

[18] Raymond Mayer est professeur d'anthropologie culturelle à l'Université "Omar Bongo" de Libreville, Gabon.

[19] Stéphanie Nkoghe est maître de conférences à l'Université "Omar Bongo" et elle conduit le Laboratoire d'anthropologie de la même université gabonaise.

[20] Saillant–Kilani–Graezer Bideau 2012: 48.

[21] *Cultura, creatività, potere*, in Saillant–Kilani–Graezer Bideau 2012: 7–21.

> La proposta teorica che ha preso forma nel *Manifesto* conferisce una grande importanza alla circolazione delle idee, alla trasformazione creativa dei concetti, a quell'incessante andirivieni di termini e nozioni dal livello *emico* a quello *etico*.[22]
>
> ["La proposition théorique qui a pris forme dans le *Manifeste* donne une grande importance à la circulation des idées, à la transformation créatrice de concepts, aux allées et venues incessantes des termes et notions du niveau *émique* à celui *éthique*."]

Dans l'édition italienne, le manifeste est suivi d'une section dédiée à la vision conceptuelle du groupe (*Concetti per un'antropologia non egemonica*), un vrai vademecum théorique. Le manifeste est sous le signe de la révision. C'est non seulement l'impression donnée par le fait que les premiers chapitres commencent avec des verbes préfixés itératif (*rouvrir*, *réaffirmer*) qui suggère cela, mais aussi l'obsession du positionnement, du conditionnement, de l'utilité qui ressort des autres titres.

Le Manifeste est divisé en huit séquences qui abordent autant de problèmes:

1. rouvrir le débat sur la pertinence de l'anthropologie,
2. réaffirmer la présence de l'anthropologie dans le monde,
3. les conditions d'une anthropologie non-hégémonique,
4. propositions pour une anthropologie non-hégémonique. La présence apprise ou l'interaction de proximité,
5. la langue en tant que choix éthique,
6. la diversité contre les nouveaux hégémonismes,
7. l'universalisme comme risque, horizon et capacité de l'incertitude et
8. à quoi sert la connaissance anthropologique aujourd'hui.

1. La première séquence mentionne généralement les changements qu'a subis la science au cours du temps, pour esquisser finalement tout un mécanisme de l'action hégémonique (types d'hégémonisme, forces produisant d'hégémonisme, l'anthropologie comme hégémonie envers d'autres sciences ayant le même objet d'étude, etc.)

Les débuts de la science qui se superposent au contexte économique et politique de la conquête de nouveaux espaces, de nouveaux produits, en d'autres termes, de nouveaux pouvoirs, impliquent la construction d'un cadre théorique capable de décrire la différence entre la culture du pouvoir métropolitain et les nouveaux espaces à conquérir.

Cela constitue le premier paradigme historique et couvre la seconde moitié du XIX^{e} siècle et la plupart du XX^{e} siècle. Il faut souligner qu'il y a au niveau du manifeste une rhétorique très claire née de l'opposition culture/pouvoir, ainsi que tout un terrain conceptuel anti-Foucault, l'idéologie coupable de penser le monde en termes d'hégémonie (*foucaultisme anthropologique*) et qui, selon Adriano Favole, présenterait trois limites ou risques:

[22] Idem: 8.

> Il primo, fondamentale, rischio è la saturazione della cultura e delle relazioni sociali con il potere. (...) Un secondo rischio del foucaultismo antropologico è una sorta di paradossale impoverimento epistemologico che si può oggi constatare in una sovra-utilizzo di termini e concetti come soggetto/soggettivazione, biopolitica, governamentalità ecc. Un terzo e più insidioso rischio ci riporta al punto di partenza! (...) l'antropologia inspirata da Foucault, che pure nasce da presa di distanza da prospettive come lo strutturalismo e il marxismo, non rischia di divenire un sapere ben lontano da un'antropologia condivisa?[23]
>
> ["La premier risque fondamental est la saturation de la culture et des relations sociales avec le pouvoir. (...) Un deuxième risque du foucaultisme anthropologique est une sorte d'appauvrissement épistémologique paradoxale que vous pouvez voir aujourd'hui dans une sur-utilisation des termes et des concepts tels que l'objet/la subjectivité, la biopolitique, la gouvernementalité et ainsi de suite. Un troisième, et le plus insidieux risque, nous ramène au point de départ! (...) l'anthropologie inspirée par Foucault, qui vient aussi naître de la prise de distance des perspectives telles que le structuralisme et le marxisme, n'est-elle pas susceptible de devenir un savoir assez loin de l'anthropologie partagée?"]

Le deuxième paradigme historique se forme à la suite de reconsidérations successives générées par la relation observateur/observés et il est typique aux décennies du milieu du siècle dernier, quand la discipline développe un intérêt réfléchi, motivé par un plus grand échange entre les producteurs du savoir et ses utilisateurs et qui facilite des évaluations et des positionnements.

Le dernier paradigme, qui coïncide avec l'anthropologie contemporaine et qui s'impose dans les années 80 (avec le postmodernisme), est caractérisé par une critique interne de la discipline et qui va jusqu'à annoncer même la mort de la science, dévorée par des doutes et des incertitudes. La critique interne de la science et les conditions extérieures actuelles alimentent les doutes sur l'existence et l'utilité de l'anthropologie.

Les signataires du manifeste identifient plusieurs types d'hégémonie qui, avec l'idéologie néolibérale qui domine le monde, minent aussi bien les sens que l'utilité de l'anthropologie, en la déstabilisant, lui faisant perdre le prestige antérieur: l'hégémonie économique, effet du néo-libéralisme tentaculaire, l'hégémonie cognitive, conséquence de l'explosion des technosciences, l'hégémonie idéologique, provenant de la diffusion capillaire des diverses formes de l'intégrisme religieux et éthique, avec leur marquante empreinte sur la subjectivité, l'hégémonie politique, soumise à la tentation d'une gouvernance mondiale.

N'étant plus considérée comme une science "sérieuse", l'anthropologie est concurrencé par des sciences plus rigoureuses qui produisent sa réelle marginalisation. Ce sont les sciences biologiques, cognitives et administratives. D'autres sciences partagent l'intérêt pour la culture et la diversité avec l'anthropologie: la médecine, l'ingénierie et la gestion, en coagulant un nouveau niveau hégémonique.

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[23] Idem: 16–17.

Même au cadre des sciences humaines et sociales, l'anthropologie est concurrencée par de nouvelles disciplines, les études culturelles et *post-colonial studies* [études postcoloniales], qui ont le même objectif, celui de représenter l'Autre et de le mettre dans des relations concrètes de pouvoir. Cet Autre provenant d'anciennes colonies n'est pas seulement un objet représenté, mais le savant même qui le fait. Celui qui parle de culture n'est pas seulement le savant du "centre". Les marginaux d'autrefois veulent participer également à ce marché mondial du savoir.

Cette nouvelle élite du Sud s'éloigne de l'anthropologie euro-américano-centrique, ou seulement américano-centrique, et veut s'identifier en tant que telle, en contribuant à l'écriture d'une anthropologie non-hégémonique:

> Questa domanda sociale, politica e intellettuale di riconoscimento di saperi altri rispetto a quelli egemonici, che cambia il contesto del dialogo tra gli antropologi occidentali e quelli non-occidentali, è il primo passo per far emergere un'antropologia globale non-egemonica.[24]
>
> ["Cette question de la reconnaissance sociale, politique et intellectuelle des savoirs autres que ceux hégémoniques, qui modifie le contexte du dialogue entre anthropologues occidentaux et non-occidentaux, est la première étape dans l'émergence de l'anthropologie globale de non-hégémonique."]

bien que l'anthropologie est elle-même une construction hégémonique. Mais si elle regarde de manière critique son passé, consciente de signes autoritaires qu'elle porte avec soi, elle peut concevoir un avenir moins autoritaire, non-hégémonique, malgré les forces hégémoniques agissant de l'extérieur sur soi, le mondialisme et le scientisme.

La mondialisation, perçue comme une idéologie selon laquelle le monde serait un tout, un conglomérat indifférencié, provoque des malformations sur la perception culturelle de la diversité par l'étude de la culture comme une pratique folklorique.

Le scientisme résume la science à la mesure et à la technique et, ensemble, les deux idéologies voient plutôt un monde composé de faits culturels pas de cultures, qu'il traduit en variables socio-médicales, socio-économiques ou psychosociales quantifiables.

Face à ces changements qui semblent attaquer l'identité de la science, le groupe propose une complexité accrue des méthodes et des théories, aussi bien de celles qui sont bien consolidées, que de celles inhabituelles, en mesure de décrire la réalité culturelle et sociale et sa diversité.

Il s'oppose à l'interdisciplinarité molle, au bricolage, à la superficialité en faveur de la rigueur de la recherche ethnographique. Les procédures ouvertes vers plusieurs méthodes et attentives envers plusieurs horizons épistémiques, bien que la diversité épistémique soit inhérente à la science, ne peuvent pas avoir un avenir,

[24] Idem: 27.

un développement positif. L'exigence des méthodes de recherche est un crédit offert à l'avenir de la science.

2. La deuxième séquence du manifeste est circonscrite à la volonté de repositionner l'anthropologie dans le monde en repensant la capacité de la science à refléter la réalité culturelle très diversifiée dans sa profondeur et de surprendre l'universalisme de la culture.

La première partie de la séquence est un questionnement intense, conçu comme une série d'interrogations qui convergent sur une valeur positive, constructive:

> L'antropologia non ha ancora mantenuto tutte le sue promesse in materia di universalità, perché l'universalismo di cui si è discusso fino a oggi è quello, particolare, definito dall'Occidente.[25]
>
> ["Anthropologie n'a pas tenu toutes ses promesses en termes d'universalité, parce que l'universalisme qui a été discuté jusqu'à présent, c'est, en particulier, tel qu'il est défini par l'Occident."]

Par conséquent, le projet de la connaissance de la diversité culturelle humaine doit être repris comme un dialogue continu qui donne une plus grande attention, épistémologique et politique, à des concepts tels que: rencontre, échange, co-transformation, conflit, hégémonie, domination, qui combine les exigences du monde contemporain avec un *modus operandi* spécifique de la science. Pour cela, les membres du groupe proposent certains principes structurants.

L'anthropologie est une science critique, formée sur la base d'une connaissance directe du monde, elle n'est pas un discours philosophique disjoint du monde de l'expérience. La connaissance est un phénomène social, à la fois en termes de réalité empirique et en termes de sujet épistémique qui la construit:

> La sua pertinenza dipenderà dalla capacità dell'antropologo di *farsi altro*, e in particolare dalla conoscenza della lingua, dall'apprendimento e dall'applicazione delle regoli locali, dall'adozione di comportamenti sociali idonei.[26]
>
> ["Sa pertinence dépendra de la capacité de l'anthropologue à *devenir un autre*, et en particulier de la connaissance de la langue, de l'apprentissage et de l'application des règles locales, de l'adoption d'un comportement social approprié."]

L'anthropologie nécessite une présence impliquée, faisant face à des endroits et à des contextes sensibles. La présence impliquée peut signifier aussi une présence prolongée. Chaque fois, l'implication consiste à accepter le dialogue qui se déroule sur le terrain et qui souvent se révèle un non-dialogue. Elle peut également signifier la capacité de témoigner et d'assumer la confession consciente, surtout quand une partie de notre expérience reste intraduisible. L'implication

[25] Idem: 31.
[26] Idem: 32.

nécessite qu'on connaisse la langue du groupe étudié. La décentralisation est une autre condition de la pratique anthropologique:

> Questa richiede una particolare sensibilità per la diversità, concepita non come una racolta indifferenziata di diversità messe insieme in un patchwork, ma come la condizione stessa delle forme di vita culturali.[27]
>
> ["Cela nécessite une sensibilité particulière à la diversité, conçue non pas comme une collection indifférenciée de la diversité mise ensemble dans une mosaïque, mais comme la condition même des formes de la vie culturelle."]

Récupérer un nouvel universalisme, pensé simultanément dans le cadre de différentes cultures ou, plus précisément, par la modulation du contenu culturel devient, de cette manière, un but de toute anthropologie comme une forme de sa manifestation dans le monde, comme une forme d'imposition en tant que science et utilité:

> L'universalismo non è un apriori – come ha per molto tempo postulato la grande separazione tra *noi*, soggetto del discorso universale e *loro*, oggetti particolari del sapere – ma un pensiero in azione che richiede di essere continuamente elaborato nello scambio e nel confronto.[28]
>
> ["L'universalisme n'est pas *a priori* – comme on l'a longtemps postulé, la grande séparation entre *nous*, l'objet du discours universel, et *eux*, les objets particuliers de la connaissance –, mais une pensée en action qui doit être traitée en continu dans l'échange et la comparaison."]

3. Le chapitre intitulé *Conditions pour une anthropologie non-hégémonique* est construit autour des réactions critiques des années 1980 et 1990 envers la tradition anthropologique. Le sens de ces critiques est circonscrit au désir de souligner la manière d'imaginer une structure théorique non-hégémonique par les membres du groupe. Ils croient que la tradition de l'anthropologie est indéniablement liée à la monographie de terrain comme le principal instrument de perception et de description de la réalité, une tradition qui a été autoritairement créé, en alimentant, en même temps, un certain nombre de faiblesses inhérentes à une telle construction.

L'anthropologie des années 1980, d'essence postmoderne, apporte une critique sévère à cette tradition, qui déplorait que cette anthropologie

> ha portato con sé certe rappresentazioni essenzializzate degli altri, studiati indipendentemente dall'esperienza stessa dell'antropologo, dal effetto della sua presenza e da tutta la parte relazionale dell'esperienza, che trasforma tanto gli uni quanto gli altri.[29]
>
> ["a apporté avec elle des représentations essentialisées des autres, étudiées indépendamment de l'expérience elle-même de l'anthropologue, de l'effet de sa

[27] Idem: 34.
[28] Ibidem.
[29] Idem: 35.

présence et de toute l'expérience relationnelle, qui transforme aussi bien les uns que les autres."]

Les critiques des postmodernistes remettaient même en question le caractère scientifique de la discipline, car ils estimaient que la manière dont l'Autre était dépeint était fausse, défectueux, nuisible, que toute l'activité de recherche de terrain doit être réévaluée et qu'il faut repenser le concept de *coprésence* et ses effets dans la "production de la connaissance". Les années 1990 sont caractérisées par une tentative d'atténuer les critiques acerbes de postmodernistes. Les ripostes sont venues du marxisme, qui de nouveau tourné vers des questions telles que l'inégalité, l'expansion de la logique capitaliste, de l'impérialisme et des groupes qui étudiaient les minorités de toutes sortes (*gender studies*, *black studies*, *latino studies*, *disability studies*, *gaylesbianbisexualtransexual studies*, etc.) qui apportaient la question de l'identité et de sa production à partir d'une perspective culturelle.

Réunies sous l'étiquette d'*études culturelles*, elles partageaient l'obsession de ceux qui portaient le nom générique de "subalternes" et la façon dont ils voulaient réélaborer le discours à leur sujet jusque-là sans eux. Influencées par Foucault, les études culturelles postcoloniales faisaient recours à une synthèse de connaissances provenant de l'histoire, de la géographie, de la philosophie et des études littéraires, mais assez rarement de l'anthropologie, ce qui a fait que par cette façon de traiter leurs cultures "subalternes", les auteurs du Sud devinrent eux-mêmes "subalternes" épistémologiques.

L'anthropologie a mal répondu aux études postcoloniales, qu'elle accusait d'être plus attentives aux représentations qu'aux pratiques sociales. Elle soupçonnait, entre autres, que celles-ci ne font rien, mais un renversement brutal de perspective, qui produirait une nouvelle forme d'hégémonie, celle des "subalternes". Un argument éloquent était celui de certains intellectuels, savants "subalternes", d'occuper des positions centrales dans le monde académique hégémonique (surtout anglo-saxon), à partir desquelles ils allaient recevoir une légitimité supplémentaire.

Par conséquent, les membres du groupe de Lausanne proposent une rhétorique du dialogue, qui devait intégrer dans la production réflexive et dans le débat toutes ces acquisition critiques et controverses. Ils soutiennent que

> ... è ben lontana da noi l'idea di sostituire un'egemonia (occidentale ed etnocentrica) con un'altra (venuta dal Sud o da altrove e altrettanto etnocentrica), o di sostituire meccanicamente l'antropologo con il subalterno. Il nostro progetto è del tutto diverso. Noi intendiamo evitare il semplice rovesciamento tra *padrone* e *schiavo* e proporre invece un'antropologia relazionale e dialogica, multilocalizzata rispetto ai luoghi di enunciazione dei particolarismi culturali e dei loro sapere, che non lasci sotto silenzio il conflittuale e le dinamiche gerarchiche sottese al tipo di relazione da noi evocata.[30]

[30] Idem: 38.

["... Il est loin de nous l'idée de remplacer l'hégémonie (occidentale et ethnocentrique) avec une autre (en venant du Sud ou d'ailleurs et tout aussi ethnocentrique), ou de remplacer mécaniquement l'anthropologue avec le subaltèrne. Notre projet est complètement différent. Nous avons l'intention d'éviter la simple inversion entre le *maître* et l'*esclave*, et proposons à la place une anthropologie relationnelle et dialogique, multi-localisée par rapport aux lieux d'énonciation des particularités culturelles et de leurs savoirs, qui ne laisse pas sous silence le conflit et les dynamiques sous-jacentes hiérarchiques du type de relation que nous avons évoqué."]

4. En analysant ce contexte, les membres du groupe font encore un certain nombre de propositions pour une anthropologie non-hégémonique, située entre une présence apprise, didactiquement acquise, et une interaction de proximité.

Une telle anthropologie est en voie de développement. Elle réagit à l'anthropologie "multi-située", pour laquelle le terrain qui constitue l'objet de la recherche n'est pas isolé, mais dispersé, les phénomènes étudiés sont abordés de la perspective du réseau et la culture comme des "objets en relation". Dans une telle anthropologie des méthodes d'observation ont été développées, ce qui a permis, après la critique de l'exotisme des faits observés, l'entrée de nouveaux sujets dans le domaine: les institutions, les structures bureaucratiques et gouvernantes, les groupes économiques et financiers importants, les organisations internationales, transnationales.

Cette manière d'approche thématique permet, d'une part, l'étude des transformations des cultures globalisées mondiale, mais d'autre part, elle contredit le principe de la présence impliquée. L'anthropologue fait une sorte de géographie culturelle, en se concentrant sur les nœuds du réseau, pas sur le paysage entier.

La culture et la société deviennent, dans cette optique, des fragments simples, entre une rhétorique globaliste et une autre localiste, en oubliant qu'elles ils sont essentiellement situées dans la simultanéité (le temps court de la mondialisation) et dans l'historicité (le temps long de la tradition et de la mémoire). Nous ne pouvons pas penser la culture en termes localistes, à l'exclusion de l'universalité.

C'est pourquoi il devrait "pensar le come luoghi di elaborazione e di enunciazione di schemi insieme singoli e universali, che emergono da un'interazione continua"[31] ("la penser comme endroits d'élaboration et d'énonciation de schémas en même temps individuels et universels, émergeant d'une interaction continue"), pensée ainsi, non pas comme une culture locale, mais localisée, universellement relationnée.

5. Ce type d'*anthropologie symétrique* permet une approche basée de la perspective du positionnement et du partage de l'information culturelle, de la connaissance située. Impossible de le faire sans connaître la langue de la culture étudiée. Cette question a une dimension éthique. Sans connaître la langue locale, l'exactitude des données est discutable.

[31] Idem: 39.

En d'autres termes, le monde est confronté aussi à une hégémonie linguistique, non seulement de l'anglais des institutions internationales, une langue approximative et toujours adaptée, mais également celle des autres langues rencontrées sur le terrain.

Bien qu'il existe aussi d'autres formes de communication, de différents codes (d'alimentation, vestimentaire, artistique), la connaissance de la langue vernaculaire est obligatoire. Dans un tel contexte, la diversité est un outil pour lutter contre les nouvelles formes hégémoniques.

6. Aux formes hégémoniques hérités, ethnocentriques, stigmatisantes, d'autres viennent s'ajouter, des formes typiques au monde "glocalisé": l'hégémonie économique qui détruit de couches entières de la population, accompagnée de nouveaux systèmes moraux. La démocratie utilisée afin de conquérir d'Etats entiers, des idéologies qui s'imposent comme formes uniques de la pensée, des mouvements religieux qui excluent l'Autre par un fondamentalisme féroce, qui réduit la culture locale à des schémas simples, rudimentaires, en exaspérant par des prétentions de pureté et de suprématie.

Des formes locales d'hégémonie, comme le sexe, la race, la religion, l'origine ethnique, construisent elles aussi un réseau autoritaire, dominant, en promouvant la même logique de l'exclusion.

7. La septième section du manifeste se réfère à l'universalisme en tant que risque. L'anthropologue n'est pas le seul fabricant d'un discours sur la culture, mais il y a des spécialistes qui viennent de divers domaines et émettent le même type de prétentions. D'une telle situation découlent généralement des réflexes comme la patrimonialisation, l'essentialisme stratégique, l'utilisation politique de la culture.

Dans ces conditions, l'anthropologue dialogue avec tous ceux qui formulent des connaissances sur la culture. En utilisant consciemment ce dialogue, en évitant les dérapages localisto-ethnocentriques, le discours anthropologique peut rejoindre correctement un horizon universaliste, si nous acceptons que l'universalisme n'est pas un postulat, mais une production dynamique et constamment négociée et évaluée.

Après cette analyse, le final favorise une question conclusive: à quoi sert aujourd'hui la connaissance anthropologique. L'anthropologue a longtemps été associé à l'image du défenseur de la victime, des faibles. Fondamentalement, il est pris en otage par les stratégies préétablies des différents acteurs sociaux par défaut et inscrites dans les univers de leurs attentes respectives. Il ne peut s'échapper que par la création d'une ligne de milieu entre l'engagement et la prévention des formes de manifestation des hégémonies, conscient que toute forme de connaissance n'est pas seulement locale, mais aussi universelle. En outre, toute connaissance doit être produite non seulement par implication, mais aussi par le partage (*compresenza*):

> La co-produzione (e la co-enunciazione) di conoscenze, che non ha niente a che vedere con la fusione di soggetto e oggetto, è anche un modo per conservare una distanza critica, per resistere all'egemonia dell'approccio benpensante e della scienza convenzionale, per avere sempre ben presente che talune conoscenze sfuggono agli uni e agli altri.[32]
>
> ["La co-production (et la co-énonciation) des connaissances n'a rien à voir avec la fusion entre le sujet et l'objet. C'est un moyen de garder sa distance critique pour résister à l'hégémonie de l'approche des bien-pensants et de la science conventionnelle et pour avoir bien présent à l'esprit que quelques connaissances peuvent échapper aux uns et aux autres."]

L'anthropologue peut imposer de différentes hypostases. Il peut encore gérer la diversité à condition qu'il abandonne l'idée d'être le seul observateur de celle-ci et qu'il accepte même la position d'observé. Il peut être passager à condition d'éviter des dualismes et des sectarismes. Il peut s'intéresser aux diverses formes de "subalternité" sans se mettre à la place des "subalternes" ou parler en leur nom. Dans ces circonstances, il espère qu'il pourra détruire les fondements de la pensée et des comportements hégémoniques.

Les huit séquences structurelles du *Manifeste* constituent une analyse critique du statut de l'anthropologie aujourd'hui et aussi une analyse *pro domo* en faveur d'une anthropologie non-hégémonique, sans que sa structure conceptuelle soit clairement formulée. Ceci est fait dans la deuxième partie du *Manifeste*, intitulée *Concepts pour une anthropologie non-hégémonique*.

Cette partie est construite comme un dictionnaire de termes, chaque article lexicographique étant signé par un membre du groupe de sorte que ses compétences scientifiques soient mises en valeur au maximum.

Nous n'allons pas analyser tous ces concepts, mais seulement les passer en revue, en insistant sur celui/ceux qui favorise/nt le cadre théorique de notre travail.

Certains de ces concepts sont classiques et ne reçoivent qu'une interprétation en termes de l'idéologie du *Manifeste*, d'autres sont inédits, exigés par la construction d'une anthropologie non-hégémonique: antropopoesis, implication, colonialisme, connaissance mutuelle, corps, créativité culturelle, culture, culture partagée, décolonialisation méthodologique, différence et dispute, endo-anthropologie, exo-anthropologie, éthique, ethnocentrisme, frontière, généalogie des idées anthropologiques, globalisation de la communication, empire, interstice anthropologique, île, langue, modernité sans sécurité, multilinguisme, multipolarités, musée ethnographique, organisations internationales, patrimonialisation partagée, patrimoine, parcours (de vie), peuples autochtones, post-colonialisme, reconnaissance et pouvoir, connaissance, sujet, subalternité, sud, universalisme.

De tous ces concepts, celui qui revêt une importance particulière pour nous, c'est le concept de *antropopoiesi* élaboré par Francesco Remotti, développé ultérieurement par Kilani et Calame[33], et repris de manière exhaustive par le même

[32] Idem: 48.
[33] Kilani 1999.

Remotti[34] dans un ouvrage récent sur la culture située entre complexité et appauvrissement.

Le concept est une réaction à la tendance des théories anthropologiques à naturaliser l'objet anthropologique et d'occulter tout processus d'élaboration des idées scientifiques. Kilani note que

> ...in un modo o nell'altro, l'analisi antropologiche classiche naturalizzano a un certo momento i loro oggetti, presentandoli come il risultato di una necessità materiale, cognitiva o simbolica e separandoli, così facendo, do ogni dimensione aleatoria, congiunturale, approssimativa. Tali teorie occultano ugualmente i processi di elaborazione del sapere antropologico e i rapporti di potere a essi soggiacenti, contribuendo a loro volta a naturalizzarli.[35]
>
> ["... d'une manière ou d'une autre, l'analyse anthropologique classique naturalise à un certain point leurs objets, en les présentant comme le résultat d'une nécessité matérielle, cognitive ou symbolique et en les séparant, ce faisant, faire n'importe quelle taille aléatoire, conjoncturelle, approximative. Ces théories cachent également les processus d'élaboration des connaissances anthropologiques et des relations de pouvoir sous-jacentes, ce qui contribue à son tour à les faire naturaliser."]

Pour Kilani, le concept démontre son utilité car il est capable de rester loin de tout déterminisme, porteur d'hégémonie, et d'éviter, ainsi, de supprimer ou de naturaliser la culture. Il couvre théoriquement, deux niveaux, étant doublement réflexif. D'une part, il se réfère aux formes d'élaboration et de négociation de la culture par les acteurs sociaux, à la manière dont l'homme est culturellement construit, et, d'autre part, à la manière dont l'anthropologue lui-même élabore son propre discours sur la cultures des autres et formule ses propres conclusions sur l'existence de l'homme dans la société.

Dérivée de la pensée de Wittgenstein, selon laquelle l'humanité n'existe pas dans une universalité abstraite, mais dans un grand nombre de "formes de vie" concrètes, la notion suggère que l'homme ne peut pas exister en lui-même, en tant que totalité ou intégralité, en tant qu'unité, mais plutôt dans une hétérogénéité, dans une diversité des types culturels.

Le premier niveau anthropopoïétique est celui qui fabrique l'homme, une sorte de seconde naissance, sociale, parce que l'être humain "usine" d'autres êtres humains, qui se réalisent dans le cadre des mythes, des rites, des structures de la parenté ou de la puissance, des relations avec la nature ou la technique, de l'organisation sociale, des relations sociales, sexuelles et de gendre.

> Affidato della cultura, a una qualunque forma di cultura, il compito antropopoietico conserva inevitabilmente un carattere arbitrario e contingente.[36]
>
> ["Confiée à la culture, à toute forme de culture, la tâche anthropopoïétique conserve inévitablement un caractère arbitraire et contingent."]

[34] Remotti 2011: 135.
[35] Mondher Kilani, *Antropopoiesi*, in Saillant–Kilani–Graezer Bideau 2012: 51.
[36] Ibidem.

Ce processus d'élaboration culturelle, de création de l'homme, attire l'attention sur le caractère fictif de celle-ci, caractère qui est particulièrement visible dans l'autre niveau de l'écriture.

Dans ce cas, la fiction est donnée par l'écart entre ce qui est représenté et qui représente cette chose-là. Dans l'effort de mieux refléter la réalité observée, un anthropologue crée un modèle, en scripturalisant, et qui ne relève pas immédiatement de cette réalité, qu'en fait il traduit en utilisant les spécificités rhétoriques (métaphores, analogies, allégories, symboles).

Kilani décrit ce processus doublement réflexif comme suit:

> La riflessività emerge innanzi tutto come il modo che determina la maniere in cui gli attori riflettono sulla loro vita, costruendo i loro universi di pratiche e credenze. Ed emerge poi, e in modo concomitante, come un epistemologia consapevole dell'attività dell'antropologo in quanto costruzioni di modelli al fine di descrivere e di interpretare i fatti della cultura, in quanto simulazione delle *finzioni* dell'umano.[37]
>
> ["La réflexivité apparaît principalement comme un moyen de déterminer les façons dont les acteurs réfléchissent sur leur vie, construisent leur univers de pratiques et de croyances. Et puis elle émerge, et de façon concomitante, comme une épistémologie consciente de l'activité de l'anthropologue, comme une construction de modèles afin de décrire et d'interpréter les faits de culture, comme une simulation des *fictions* humaines."]

Ce concept est essentiel pour nous, car il explique la relation inédite entre l'auteur et l'informateur, ou, plutôt, le dédoublement continu de l'auteur dans son propre informateur ou dans le fonctionnement de l'auteur comme une bibliothèque. Son écriture est une *simulation fictionnelle*, épistémiquement coagulée, un modèle d'interprétation de la façon dont lui, en tant qu'acteur social, se confronte avec une réalité, la ville, en essayant de penser à celle-ci.

Son écriture est une dialectique de soi-même et de l'Autre dans le même univers de pratiques et de croyances, en essayant de fabriquer l'homme entre les limites de son caractère arbitraire et contingent de cet essai.

L'approche poïétique de la démarche anthropologique, en général, et de celle sensorielle, en particulier, met en évidence le fait que l'homme est socialement obligé de produire une certaine image de soi, une *fiction*, en raison de son incomplétude ontologique.

CONCLUSIONS

Ce manifeste est comme une fable dont la morale est à comprendre sur des niveaux. Tout d'abord, que nous sommes confrontés à une nouvelle crise de la représentation de la réalité, étant donné que la réalité est en train de changer dans un rythme galopant, tout en imposant de nouveaux champs de recherche, de

[37] Idem: 53.

nouveaux défis. D'autre part, que tout système peut devenir hégémonique aussi longtemps que la réalité est décrite en termes foucauldiens de puissance. Dans ces circonstances, tout canon est essentiellement la légalisation de l'hégémonie.

Une anthropologie non hégémonique faudrait repenser toutes les instances de la science (concepts, théories, méthodes, pratiques, lois, etc.), à partir du rapport chercheur/recherché. Ce rapport essentiel devrait être abordé du point de vue de la construction culturelle de soi. Une telle perspective conduit, dans le cas d'une culture comme la nôtre, après l'identification d'un corollaire hégémonique, à l'atténuation des tensions épistémiques construites abusivement dans l'évolution des pratiques de représentation de l'homme, et à leur dissolution dans une synthèse absorbante du point de vue méthodologique. Grâce à ce type de "libéralisme" méthodologique, la construction d'une image de soi aiderait à atténuer l'incomplétude ontologique de soi, sans être handicapée à cause de la langue dans laquelle elle est faite ou du système épistémique où elle se développe.

L'ethno-anthropologie roumaine se sent reflétée par ce manifeste avec tous les problèmes complexes qui la définissent, même si aucun savant romain n'a contribué à sa rédaction, ce qui prouve, d'une part, la mondialisation des enjeux de la science et, d'autre part, la reconfiguration de la représentativité des modèles et des écoles en parallèle au clivage des pôles rhétoriques. La crise profonde à laquelle se confronte l'anthropologie roumaine peut être, sinon résolue, au moins déconstruite par l'application du programme de Lausanne.

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LA VOIX DU MONSEIGNEUR OCTAVIAN BÂRLEA À LA RADIO VATICAN. THÈMES MEDITATIVES (1971)

CARMEN BANȚA

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article met au premier plan quelques émissions thématiques socioculturelles du programme en roumain de la Radio du Vatican en 1971. Les conférences sont données par le monseigneur Octavian Bârlea, nom représentatif de la diaspora roumaine. L'approche sociale des émissions est due à la réorientation de l'église catholique vers le monde moderne qui a été déterminée par le Conseil du Vatican II. Les thèmes sont actuels, méditatifs, significatifs et philosophiques.

Mots-clés: Vatican, radio, programme en roumain, famille, message.

La Radio Vatican[1], en tant que instrument de communication sociale traditionnelle, de masse, a l'objectif essentiel de prêcher Evangile et, plus précisément, le message de l'Eglise Catholique, à travers l'autorité du Souverain Pontife dans le monde. Il promove le message biblique sur le plan social mondial, met en évidence des nuances rapportées aux différentes situations, événements spécifiques aux communautés, pays, régions du monde chrétien, mettant constamment en relief l'autorité du Saint Siege par la voix légitime du Souverain Pontife[2].

Le programme en roumain de la Radio Vatican a été créé en mars 1947[3], étant parmi les premières dix rédactions linguistiques. C'était après la Conférence de la Paix de Paris, conclu en octobre 1946 et la signée du traité qui a fait des ajustements territoriaux et qui a anticipé la levée du Rideau de Fer. A cette occasion Pape Pie le XIII[e] a donné un discours adressé aux églises qui étaient en train de rester derrière le Rideau de Fer, discours qui a été aussi traduit par le recteur de l'Académie Royale de Roumanie à Rome, Petre Panaitescu et transmis à la radio.

[1] En 2011 elle a célébré 80 ans. A cette occasion, on a publié 2 volumes: Bea–De Carolis 2011a, b.

[2] Lombardi 2011: 549.

[3] C'est le même an, le 22 avril, qu'on a aussi transmis pour la première fois en tchèque.

Il a commencé par des émissions expérimentales qui, ultérieurement, sont devenues régulières, avec une transmission hebdomadaire. Le premier *speaker* et responsable de la rédaction roumaine a été le monseigneur Pamfil Cârnațiu qui, dès 1950 aussitôt qu'on a transmis la Sainte Liturgie dans la langue roumaine à côté de l'évêque Vasile Cristea, a officié la Liturgie chaque dimanche et à l'occasion de grandes fêtes dans la chapelle de la Radio Vatican[4].

Ceux qui se sont occupés à travers le temps de la section dans la langue roumaine ont été des hiérarques roumains unis par l'émigration, des prêtres gréco-catholiques ou romain-catholiques. Après la prestation du monseigneur Cârnațiu ont suivi les messeigneurs Octavian Bârlea, Flaviu Popan et les autres, et à partir de 1981 Filippo Dozzi, un italo-roumain, exerce des attributions spécifiques jusqu'en 1990 quand il est remplacé par le monseigneur Anton, prêtre catholique de rite latin, suivi, en octobre 2012 par le prêtre Adrian Dancă, en présent rédacteur en chef du programme en roumain.

Les auditeurs étaient attirés tant par l'autorité du mot évangélique dit par le Pape que par les opinions, les études-reportages de la vie chrétienne prépondérante catholique et de la société civile. Les prêtres qui s'adressaient aux auditeurs étaient parmi les plus érudits. Une grande partie de ceux-ci avaient une activité didactique et scientifique très importante dans la diaspora.

En ce qui suit, ayant pour base quelques textes de l'archive de 1971[5], on essayera de suivre les thèmes principaux de discussion abordés dans les émissions coordonnées par l'historien et le theologue Octavian Bârlea[6]. Il a été considéré

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[4] Pour les croyants gréco-catholiques roumains qui ne pouvaient jamais écouter les dimanches ou les jours de fête une liturgie catholique, on leur a recommandé d'écouter La Liturgie dans laquelle on prononce un sermon thématique. Ces messes religieuses ont été longtemps officiées par les hiérarques roumains unis par émigration, l'évêque Vasile Cristea et l'archevêque Traian Crișan.

[5] Dans la période juin-juillet 2012 j'ai entrepris une recherche auprès de la Radio Vatican. J'ai eu à ma disposition l'Archive – documents du *programme en roumain* – qui est aussi en support écrit et audio. J'ai consulté les dossiers de la période 1968–1973, ordonnés sur mois et ans; il y avait tous les textes qui ont été transmis en direct pendant les années. Seulement l'année 1971 est éloquente pour la plaidoirie du monseigneur Octavian Bârlea sur le thème de la famille dans la société civile, parce qu'il ne traite plus ce sujet les années suivantes.

[6] Frère du folkloriste Ovidiu Bîrlea, Octavian Bârlea est né le 5 mai 1913 dans le village Mogoș, le département d'Alba. Il a suivi les études universitaires de l'Académie théologique de Blaj. En 1937, pour continuer les études théologiques, il est envoyé à Rome. Il soutient le doctorat le 23 mars 1945, obtenant la licence dans l'Histoire de l'Eglise, le même an, dans la Faculté de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de l'Université Grégorienne. Dès 1945 et jusqu'à 1952 il est nommé Vicaire Général de la Mission du Vatican pour les roumains de l'Allemagne (RFG) et d'Autriche. En Allemagne il a été nommé prêtre à Frankfurt de Main. Il reçoit le titre de monseigneur en 1952 de la part du Vatican et est nommé chef de la mission catholique pour l'Europe et recteur de la Mission en France avec le siège à Paris (1952-1955). Il revient à Rome en tant que chef de la section roumaine de la Radio Vatican (1957-1960). Entre 1961-1968 il est en Allemagne et après il revient officiellement à Vatican, étant nommé de nouveau rédacteur de la Radio Vatican (1968-1973). Entre 1973-1977, il a été "visiteur apostolique" pour le 17 diocèses gréco-catholiques roumaines aux Etats-Unis. Entre 1978-2003 il a été le Recteur de la Mission roumaine unie avec la Rome en Allemagne. Il est mort en 2005 à Munich.

même par la Sécurité[7] (la police politique roumaine) un ascète, spiritualisé dans l'expression corporelle et organisé rigoureusement dans sa pensée, et la profession de prêtre catholique a spécifiquement marqué son comportement social[8].

Le monseigneur, une voix autoritaire de la section en roumain[9] de la Radio Vatican, a été le rédacteur en chef pendant deux périodes: 1957-1960 et 1968-1973 où il a réalisé des émissions qui avaient des sujets différents en fonction du moment historique-religieux qu'il présentait.

Sur la première période nous n'avons pas des informations concrètes. Ultérieurement, après sa deuxième nomination à la radio en 1968, il a présenté sa démission du poste de président de la "Société Académique Roumaine"[10] conformément aux indications du Vatican, proposant en tant que successeur à Mircea Eliade des Etats-Unis.

La voix d'Octavian Bârlea "sortait sur les ondes" chaque jour (10 minutes) avec les événements de Vatican, les messages de sa Sainteté, des nouvelles sur l'actualité internationale, des textes socio-culturels thématiques et, à la fin, il concluait avec une pensée sur la Liturgie du jour suivant.

Tout ce qui se transmettait en direct était lu dans la cabine d'enregistrement. A travers les émissions, on a noté que le monseigneur abordait en parallèle avec les matériaux strictement religieux (Les mots du Souverain Pontife dans l'assemblée générale, L'homélie de Dimanche, etc.) des thèmes sociaux: famille, enfants, solitude, ou des sujets spécifiques à son intellect.

L'orientation vers la problématique de la famille a été bien déterminée par une décision du Concile du Vatican II, émue en 1959 et appliquée dans la période 1962-1965 et par laquelle il a traité, dans une manière différente, les relations entre l'église catholique et le monde moderne, ayant ainsi un changement de la mentalité religieuse qui a ouvert "la fenêtre" pour qu'"entre la lumière". Par cet événement, le discours chrétien entier devient de large expansion, étant accessible aux différentes catégories sociales.[11]

Au début de 1971, le monseigneur Octavian Bârlea se propose de traiter dans une série d'émissions la thématique *de la famille*, ce qui a suscité l'intérêt pour une analyse détaillée du message éducatif, contextuel et subliminal, apportant en prime plan des phénomènes spécifiques à son pays.

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[7] Archive du Conseil National pour l'Etude des Archives de la Sécurité (CNSAS), fond Documentaire, dossier no. 84, vol. II.

[8] Idem: 43.

[9] Etaient transmises en direct chaque jour le soir, de 18.30, pendant 10 minutes. Aujourd'hui les émissions quotidiennes sont le soir, de 20 heures jusqu'à 20.20 heures et le matin, elles sont reprises, de 6.20 heures jusqu'à 6.40 heures. Après 1989 le temps d'émission a été prolongé à 20 minutes.

[10] A été créé en 1957 à l'initiative du monseigneur, ayant pour objectifs culturels la publication des études avec contenu scientifique ou littéraire-artistique, l'organisation des congrès, sessions où la pléiade des intellectuels de l'exile roumain peut participer.

[11] Banța 2013: 66.

Les citations auxquelles nous faisons référence ci-dessous doivent être rapportées au contexte linguistique, social et culturel de la période. Dans les textes cités des émissions de Bârlea on remarque la simplicité du langage, l'expression colloquiale moins académique. Le fait qu'on désire que le message radiophonique s'adresse à un large public, visant plusieurs catégories sociales, détermine le monseigneur d'utiliser dans les conférences thématiques sur la famille une expression orale adaptée stylistiquement au contexte religieux, promouvant ainsi la nouvelle orientation de Vatican – "l'ouverture vers le monde moderne."

Dans la première émission, *Prologue sur les problèmes familiales*[12], le monseigneur Bârlea réalisait un préambule d'un thème d'intérêt universel, d'un problème-clé de toutes les générations – la famille et son rôle séculaire. La famille est – dis monseigneur Bârlea – la communauté de base des peuples que des états et de l'Eglise. "Un peuple s'élève ou tombe, à travers l'augmentation ou la réduction des familles. Quand les familles s'éteignent, le peuple s'éteint aussi." A la fin du prologue il nous assure que, dans les émissions de vendredis à suivre, il cherchera de présenter une réflexion et conclusions pertinentes concernant la famille "envisageant cette institution, cette société de base, pas seulement sous les aspects passagers, mais surtout sous les aspects permanents." Il essayera de parler "pas seulement du point de vue religieux, mais aussi social et culturel", en priant les auditeurs d'être doués et d'appliquer dans leurs vies ce qu'ils ont écouté.

L'émission suivante, *La famille – communauté de la vie*[13], essaye de découvrir les principaux périls qui menacent la stabilité de la famille. En choisissant seulement une des définitions essentielles de celle-ci, exprimée par un syntagme *générale* le monseigneur Bârlea dit que "par l'individualisme (courent commencé par la Renaissance et développé à travers les siècles), dans ses formes extrémistes on insiste sur le droit illimité de la liberté, reconnaissant de cette manière la valeur de la liberté individuelle. Ce système mène à la dissolution de la famille." Un autre péril est le collectivisme radical, mettant l'accent seulement sur la vie de la communauté plus large et le statut qui étouffe la famille. Le monseigneur Bârlea découvre aussi une troisième menace pour la dissolution de la famille: les théories et les hypothèses de "quelques chercheurs vieux et fatigués, qui ont cherché à construire un projet de développement familial, surtout sur la base des préconceptions que des données exactes."

En continuant l'idée, dans l'émission *La Famille – communauté de culture*[14] on soutient une plaidoirie exceptionnelle sur "les cultures de famille". On propose une méditation sur l'idée d'éducation en famille qui développe une culture mineure, restreinte, nécessaire à l'évolution de la personnalité de l'individu. Les conseils peuvent être parfois condensées "dans des sentences, des proverbes, dans des arrêtes tabous, dans des normes anciennes ou prisées de la sphère religieuse, pour

[12] Emission du 15.01.1071.
[13] Emission du 22.01.1971.
[14] Emission du 29.01.1971.

les soustraire à toute autre discussion et pour les faire des guides de vie indubitables." La famille est le filtre de la culture nationale: "les nouveaux éléments culturels deviennent véritable culture nationale quand ils entrent et s'installent dans la famille, quand ils fusionnent avec les anciens éléments culturels, quand ils deviennent une culture de famille." En extrapolant idée au niveau macro, le Monseigneur Bârlea, en réfléchissant sur l'histoire roumaine, affirme que "la famille est celle qui a gardé longtemps la culture roumaine. Il y avait des siècles quand on pouvait entendre la parole roumaine seulement dans la famille, seulement entre les voisins, seulement au niveau du village, parce que l'église ou chancelleries royales s'occupaient plus avec la langue slave ou grecque. En ces temps troublés était la seule famille qui a sauvé la langue et la culture roumaine." Le folklore lui-même, affirme Bârlea, "qui est la gloire de la culture roumaine, vient de la famille, du monde du village" et la langue maternelle, le gardien de la culture, est le fondement de tout développement culturel. Dans l'acception du monseigneur ces paroles simples peuvent être comprises au-delà du sens primaire, comme une garantie de la continuité de la langue roumaine, indifféremment du contexte socio-politique à travers le temps.

Dans son discours *La fondation de la vie de famille*[15] on essaie une réflexion sur la notion d'amour, le fondement de la famille heureuse. Le Monseigneur croit que l'amour a de nombreuses significations "de la plus sublime jusqu'à la plus basse." La sureté de l'amour ne doit pas être recherchée dans "l'accumulation de l'argent, des richesses, parce qu'on sait que les biens, surtout quand il y en a trop, peuvent plutôt étouffer le bonheur." La constance et la fidélité dans l'amour ont donc besoin d'un ciel ouvert. A la fin du discours, on conclut que "la nécessité de s'orienter vers Dieu est particulièrement nécessaire quand il s'agit d'enfants."

Ainsi, dans son discours *Les problèmes de la famille – les enfants*[16], le Monseigneur estime que l'apparition d'enfants dans une famille apporte un enrichissement spirituel en transformant les parents dans des personnes altruistes, généreuses, en développant leur personnalité grâce à leur dévouement aux survivants. "Par l'intermède des enfants, on crée un nouveau lien dans la chaîne des générations, les parents devenant ainsi un pont entre le passé et l'avenir." Les enfants remplissent "ainsi de joie la maison et les cœurs des parents; en regardant leurs enfants, les parents sont imprégnés d'un renouveau spirituel." Tolérant, mature, il se rend compte que pas toutes les familles peuvent avoir des enfants et conseille à dépasser cette crise "par l'adoption d'enfants, ou de se donner à la famille élargie, à la communauté, par de différentes façons, dans la façon dont chacun sent, sous le signe de la Grande Commission de Dieu." Tous ces arguments sont sous le signe de la foi, pouvant être considérés des "leçons de thérapie" pour les couples auditeurs.

[15] Emission du 23.04.1971.
[16] Emission du 30.04.1971.

En ayant une cohérence thématique, les émissions se terminent par des questions à traiter *vendredi prochain*. Ainsi, dans *Les problèmes de la famille – sur les enfants*[17], Bârlea suggère qu'il serait bien que la natalité "ne soit pas contrôlée par les lois et les normes" parce qu'un peuple qui "se limite, il se dirige justement sur la voie de la disparition." Par des mesures sociales, culturelles, spirituelles et des moyens techniques de plus en plus développés, on lui offre de diverses possibilités pour vivre, progresser, travailler, ce qui crée des conditions propices pour l'augmentation d'une famille. Le monseigneur est préoccupé par l'évolution négative des procès démographiques, comme une perception en extension de son propre état social, fait qui déterminerait la diminution du peuple roumain.

Le monseigneur apporte un éloge à la mère[18] dans l'émission *Le problème de la famille – la mission de la mère*[19] parce qu'il affirme que son dévouement, sa force de vivre pour les autres, la font rester une figure lumineuse dans le souvenir des enfants, des petits-enfants et des arrières petits-enfants. Elle vit par les autres, elle est capable de s'oublier elle-même. Il voit la femme non seulement dans l'intérieur de la maison, mais aussi dans ses manifestations sociales au niveau de la communauté. La femme peut même se sentir obligée de développer une telle activité extra-familiale pour assurer la vie matérielle de la famille. Mais sa qualité la mère en est supérieure.

Il s'oppose à l'avortement, en disant que "c'est un grand péché, une violation de la volonté, du commandement de Dieu qui dit: Ne pas tuer!" Il rappelle la Roumanie en disant que ces dernières années, cette tendance s'est arrêtée (l'avortement) qui non seulement a défiguré des âmes, mais aurait éteint la nation. "Mais épargner et favoriser la vie n'est pas seulement la mission de la femme, de la mère. Dans la société, il y a une autre catégorie de personnes dont la mission est de promouvoir la vie: les médecins."

Quelques semaines plus tard, le Monseigneur Bârlea parle ouvertement des problèmes dans l'émission *Les problèmes de la famille – la mission des médecins*[20], étant étonné du fait qu'en Roumanie "dans un passé pas lointain, les médecins roumains auraient donné un coup de main à l'avortement." Dans l'émission on se souvient du serment d'Hippocrate. Citant le texte dans son intégralité, Bârlea fait valoir qu' "il est impressionnant sur cette éthique médicale des Grecs, bien sûr pris des Egyptiens, puis envoyé aux médecins de l'ère chrétienne. C'est très évident obstacle à l'utilisation de suicide en arrêtant l'utilisation de poison, et interdisant

[17] Emission du 7.05.1971.

[18] L'attachement du monseigneur pour sa mère a été exemplaire. Il lui a porté toute sa vie du respect et de la reconnaissance (en spécial pour le sacrifice de l'envoyer et le maintenir dans l'école). C'est intéressant le fait qu'Octavian Bârlea a revu sa mère après 40 ans en Italie (il est parti du pays pour faire des études à l'étranger en 1937 et il a revu sa mère en 1977 (voir l'interdiction de revoir ses parents, mais aussi de leur départ a l'étranger).

[19] Emission du 28.05.1971.

[20] Emission du 4.06.1971.

l'utilisation du poison et du conseil. Mais il vaut la peine de mentionner que le serment interdit en vertu de la même sanction, toute participation par des actes ou des conseils sur l'avortement." La plaidoirie d'Octavian Bârlea pour condamner l'avorte a comme fondement les arguments de la morale chrétienne (qui soutient catégoriquement l'avortement) et pas du tout des motifs socio-politiques qui faisaient la loi dans à son pays.

Dans l'émission qui traite le thème *Peuple et famille*[21], monseigneur Octavian Bârlea croit que "la famille est une partie intégrante de la grande communauté, elle fait partie de l'état". Celui-ci doit aider les familles, en particulier les plus nombreuses. Celles-ci doivent "être respectées, faire partie de l'élite de la vie, parce qu'elles ont la puissance de faire des dons pour les autres. Entre peuple et famille il faut donc exister une unité organique "cimentée par une grande compréhension et un amour vivant. Celle-ci est la condition principale du progrès sociale."

Dans l'émission *Education dans la famille*[22] on apprend que "pour éduquer la première condition consiste dans la puissance de se détacher de soi-même. Le secret de l'éducation est constitué par la puissance du sacrifice." Les premières conditions du développement, de croissance par éducation arrivent à l'enfant de ses parents, ainsi, "l'éducation reçue dans la famille a un rôle primordiale pour l'avenir des enfants, et par les enfants, pour l'avenir de la nation."

Deux semaines plus tard, monseigneur Bârlea revient avec le sujet *La famille et la vie monastique*[23], qui a comme point de départ la question générale "c'est bon pour l'homme de se marier ou non? Et pour l'un et pour l'autre, on peut avoir des raisons vraies ou fausses." Ainsi, "l'homme ne doit pas être guidé par l'égoïsme, ni quand il décide se marier, ni quand il décide de ne pas le faire." Il argumente l'idée qu'il existe des nombreuses raisons à cause desquelles les gens ne peuvent pas se marier. Par exemple, ils ont vécu dans la guerre et dans des champs de prisonniers; ils ont aidé leurs parents et frères ; ce sont des personnes occupées avec le travail scientifique ou artistique, en se sacrifiant pour le bien de l'humanité. Ces renoncements, faits dans un esprit de sacrifice, par l'amour envers les autres, sont dignes de respect. Mais il existe encore une autre catégorie de personnes – les moines. Ils ne doivent pas être condamnés, dit Bârlea, parce que ceux-ci "se sont décidés de suivre Christ dans la pauvreté totale, dans une purification parfaite. La vie monastique a existé et existe dans les deux Eglises, aussi dans celle catholique que dans celle orthodoxe." Chaque personne peut décider ce qu'il y a de meilleur pour lui, l'église accepte tant le mariage que la vie monastique, mais les deux doivent être "vécus dans une grande dévotion, par amour envers Dieu et envers son prochain."

[21] Emission du 18.06.1971.
[22] Emission du 18.06.1971.
[23] Emission du 02.07.1971.

Les considérations finales en ce qui concerne le problème du mariage on les retrouve dans la suivante émission, *Entre modernisme et traditionalisme*[24], où, inquiété par les contextes socio-politiques de l'époque, monseigneur Bârlea constate déçu que la famille roumaine a été affectée. L'optique générale sur l'idée de famille s'est changée. "La liberté" est mal comprise *par* les jeunes mariés qui ne désirent plus avoir plusieurs enfants, étant préoccupés en général par l'accomplissement matériel, par la stabilité sentimental-affective ce qui peut conduire graduellement à une diminution du nombre de la population et au vieillissement qualitatif des successeurs. Quelques mesures socio-médicales appliquées ostentatoirement ont conduit à la répression dans les dernières décennies du développement normal du peuple roumain. Le substrat de ses convictions est généré par la mentalité fluctuante des générations jeunes qui ont la tendance d'inverser les valeurs morales avec celles de nature matérielles, fait qui conduirait au changement du comportement social des individus. Monseigneur conclut sa conférence sur un ton moralisateur: "Par les vieux, ce sont les générations passées qui parlent, c'est la sagesse accumulée des milliers et des dizaines d'années qui parle, par eux les jeunes peuvent avoir un bon guide pour l'avenir."

Cette conférence ferme le long fil de 15 émissions thématiques sur la famille sous tous ses aspects (religieux, sociaux, culturels, philosophiques).

CONCLUSIONS

Disposant de la force d'un intellectuel bien organisé, d'une expression orale cultivée, et, sans doute, d'un contrôle rigide de sa manière de se présenter, le monseigneur Octavian Bârlea a réussi par ces émissions à relever les problèmes avec lesquels la société sécularisée se confronte. Il apporte avec succès en prime plan la famille et le rôle *primordial* majeur qu'elle a dans la société et, par l'éloquence et la précision du message radiophonique, il accomplit l'éducation de l'auditoire en le conseillant de réfléchir sur les idées transmises et sur le rôle de chacune dans la structure du propre système social.

Du pupitre du poste en roumain du Radio Vatican, monseigneur Octavian Bârlea, met en évidence, dans une certaine étape de son expérience ecclésiastique, la fonction éducative-sociale de la famille, fondant sa thématique sur son rôle dans la société. Il observe le changement du sens de la morale sociale dans son pays d'origine et il prend position argumentant le dogme chrétien, considérant que dans la société sécularisée tant la femme en qualité d'épouse et mère, que les enfants ont un rôle prioritaire et bien défini pour perpétuer le peuple roumain.

Ses messages ont contribué à la configuration de la spiritualité et de l'identité roumaine dans un monde séculaire ou l'orientation vers la société moderne avait

[24] Emission du 9.07.1971.

commencé à s'observer en même temps avec les effets "nocives" de nouvelles doctrines sociales qui ont "dévié" de la morale traditionnelle chrétienne.

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BENJAMIN STONEHILL'S ARCHIVE OF RECORDED SONGS IN YIDDISH, POLISH, RUSSIAN – NEW YORK CITY, 1948

CRAIG PACKARD

ABSTRACT

The author and his collaborator have recently begun working with a sound archive amassed by Benjamin Stonehill, an amateur collector, who recorded over 1000 songs from Yiddish-speaking displaced persons who were resettling in New York City in 1948. We are categorizing, transcribing, and translating the unaccompanied songs, preparing some for public presentation by a small band of singers and instrumentalists. We will make the digitized tracks available via a Website, along with commentary, cross-referencing, background, and context – to the extent possible.

Keywords: Yiddish, songs, displaced persons, New York City.

BACKGROUND: WHO WAS STONEHILL?

In the lobby of the Hotel Marseilles in upper Manhattan, New York City, in 1948, a young man sings a lament in Yiddish about "the hell that was our life over there", a song about suffering, revenge, and hope. Originally from Khust (then in Ukraine), the twenty-year-old has been in the country only 4 days. Another young man sings a German marching song that he had been forced to sing in the concentration camp of Buchenwald. A young woman from (then) Czechoslovakia sings a medley of songs about wandering, loss, and a chaotic world. One hears children's voices and adults' voices, although the singers are mainly on the young side meaning in their teens and twenties. They had survived the ravages of war, of displacement and persecution, destruction of community, trauma, and so forth.

These and over a thousand other songs are included in a sound archive amassed by Benjamin Stonehill. Stonehill – the original family name (they were born in Poland) was Steinberg – was an amateur collector. On his own initiative, he spent much of the summer of 1948 collecting songs, very much as a labor of love,

since no-one paid him to collect. He persuaded some of the refugees and DPs [displaced persons] recently arrived from DP camps in Germany, as well as some other dwellers of adjacent New York Yiddish neighborhoods, to sit and sing for him and for his wire – not tape, but wire – recorder. The hotel lobby was noisy; the technology was on the crude side (certainly by 21st-century standards); the microphone he used was "low fidelity". Notwithstanding his unsophisticated methodology and lack of control over the recording ambience, he gathered over 1000 songs of many types, mainly in Yiddish, though there are a few in Hebrew, in Hebrew-Aramaic, a few in Russian, some in Polish.

Dr. Miriam Isaacs and Dr. Craig Packard have recently begun to collaborate in order to study the material, to categorize, transcribe, translate it, and put it in context. To begin, the process required separating out the individual tracks into digital single files – mp3 format – using the readily available software called "Audacity". We listen to tracks, discuss what we hear and any possible immediate significance that we can ascribe, and try to supply context – both scholarly and cultural/musical – to what we hear.

Briefly, here's what distinguishes the collection: The archive comprises 8 reels of recordings, each containing an hour or more of material. A ninth reel is a recording of the lecture that Stonehill himself gave on January 8, 1964 at YIVO Institute of Jewish Research in New York City. Stonehill compiled a numbered list of the songs, arranged by first line or first phrase, all 1078 of them, by his reckoning. We have copies of the list, with additional notations about the ninth reel's contents (the lecture and Stonehill's conversation with Shmerke Kaczerginski), made by the US Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC.

The list lacks singers' names; it lacks any references to time or timing of the tracks – in short, we have no metadata on the recordings, other than some comments from Stonehill in his 1964 lecture. We note that Stonehill was inconsistent about his introductions before the beginning of individual songs on the recordings. Hence one sometimes hears songs unseparated, sometimes interrupted. The recordings are occasionally suddenly discontinued. Those present in the hotel lobby sometimes sing along with the singer or help the singer out with word suggestions. When Stonehill transferred the recordings from wire to magnetic tape, he used tapes that had already served for other purposes – tapes which had sometimes been incompletely erased. The original wires of the recordings have been lost, according to Stonehill's son.

Most recording tracks begin with a brief questioning by Stonehill; we note this where it occurs. He asks for a name, a place of origin, length of time in the USA, and the name of the song to be sung. There is an open-endedness to Stonehill's brief instructions to his informants that allows great latitude in choice and personal significance of material, be it political, emotional, cultural, social,

religious, or totally personal. He also includes occasional conversation, introductions, commentary.

Stonehill accepted the abilities and confidence of each singer. The recordings contain no judgments from him about inaccuracies of melody or pitch, lapses of memory. He sometimes seems to encourage self-commentary, making it possible for each singer to create an imaginary audience for the song *in situ.* Some singers returned to sing for him on more than one occasion and may or may not repeat their introductions. Forming a background to the songs there is fragmentary, usually faint, non-musical evidence. That evidence might allow one to make inferences about the dynamic between singer and the newly-created, often-changing community present in the hotel lobby as an audience. One can hear reactions and signs of approval, recognition, and understanding; sometimes others' voices join in the words or prompt the singer.

There is an immediacy inherent in the authentic voices of its informants. These are the voices of ordinary people – almost all very recent immigrants – randomly selected (though Stonehill says little about the process, random or guided, by which he proceeded to choose and record, hence this aspect is unknowable); the voices are definitely of a time and a place – more precisely, they are voices of people from a region of central and eastern Europe characterized linguistically by mainly Russian, Polish, Hebrew, and many dialects of Yiddish.

Jewish relief organizations temporarily housed men, women, and children who represented the full spectrum of the survivor population, from bearded rabbis to leftist former partisans. The Hotel Marseilles in Manhattan, New York City, was one such temporary abode. The immigrants hailed from many home countries, hence Yiddish was the *lingua franca.* Stonehill grew up with Yiddish; as an adult, he worked at his command of it, even becoming a teacher of Yiddish at a school in Queens. His love of the language and its symbolic cultural power seem to come through in his writings and in his own recorded voice on the recordings.

From amongst the many ordinary folk recorded in the archive, we note two important figures for whom song was their profession. Their voices and songs appear in the collection, sung by both the authors themselves and by other singers. One is Shmerke Kaczerginski, a noted songwriter, singer, collector of songs, partisan, and survivor of the Vilna Ghetto. Side 2 of Reel 9 has an introduction by Shmerke Kaczerginski. He had flown into New York from Paris that summer to attend a conference about the rescue of Yiddish culture; Stonehill had befriended and recorded him during Kaczerginski's stay in the USA. A second important figure is Diana Blumenfeld, a Yiddish actress and survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto. The archive contains songs by the most important composers of music of the Holocaust, some of whom perished during the War. We have identified songs by, e.g., Hirsh Glik, Leah Rudnicki, Kasriel Broydo, and Leyb Rosenthal.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION SINCE 1948

Stonehill hauled his heavy equipment into Manhattan from his home in Sunnyside, Queens, and sat long hours in the small hotel lobby during that summer of 1948. He had ambitions to transcribe and translate the massive collection. At first he found he had little time (he did have a full-time job then) and no support. Later, in 1964, shortly before succumbing to cancer, he succeeded in donating the collection to the Library of Congress [LoC], Washington DC. We have copies of his typed correspondence with the LoC from April 15, 1949 in which he requests clerical help in transcribing song texts; and his handwritten letters from September 14, 1965, and November 2, 1965 (Appendix II). We also have a copy of an obituary.

These recordings then became part of the LoC Folklife Center collection[1]. Stonehill did transfer the entire contents from wire to tape. The LoC transferred the archive then to digital media, eventually to pass along a complete copy to the US Holocaust Museum, also in Washington DC, along with Stonehill's written index of first lines, inconsistent though that was in terms of spelling, transliteration, and ordering[2]. A few scholars know of the archive's existence; a few have listened to (some of) it; some singers or musicians have taken some material therefrom, e.g., Lorin Sklamberg. YIVO in NYC also has a copy of the archive, as does Yad Vashem in Israel[3].

Dr. Miriam Isaacs, my collaborator in this endeavor and recipient of a grant from the Washington-based Koster Foundation to study this archive, also received a fellowship through the US Holocaust Memorial Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust studies. She worked closely with the Museum's ethnomusicologist, Bret Werb, who brought Stonehill's collection to the Museum[4]. She is formerly a professor of Yiddish language and literature at the University of Maryland and has already given several talks about Stonehill and his work, discussing and playing excerpts from the archive, for instance, at the LoC on November 13th, 2013[5]. She has talked elsewhere about him[6]. In addition to public presentations such as these, the Grant from the Koster Foundation also envisions public presentation(s) of

[1] "The American Folklife Center" was created by Congress in 1976 and placed at the Library of Congress [Loc] "to preserve and present American Folklife" through programs of research, documentation, archival preservation, reference service, live performance, exhibition, public programs, and training. The Center includes the American Folklife Center Archive of Folk Culture, which was established in 1928. This is now one of the largest collections of ethnographic material from the United States and around the world. See: http://www.loc.gov/folklife/.

[2] See: http://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/music/detail.php?content=stonehill.

[3] See: http://yivoarchives.org/?p=collections/controlcard&id=33756 and http://yiddishsong.wordpress.com/tag/ben-stonehill/.

[4] See http://www.yivo.org/uploads/files/YIVO_yedies_203.pdf – article begins on p. 19.

[5] See: http://www.loc.gov/folklife/events/BotkinArchives/Botkin2013.html.

[6] See: http://www.albany.edu/jewishstudies/events_calendar.shtml.

songs as part of the process of rendering them more accessible and better known to a wider audience.

MAKING SONGS ACCESSIBLE – INTERNET HOSTING

The archive's contents remain little studied, as best we can determine. What follows is a discussion of some issues we shall address. Our strategy is to impose some order on this rich trove of material and render it accessible, *especially to musicians*. Progress comes slowly.

As part of my approach to making this archive better known, I am organizing some material for a small band. This entails transcribing melodies as sung; then writing out the music notation in recognizable key signatures, playable by such instruments as *ţambal* (Yiddish *tsimbl*), contra viola (3-string chording viola), clarinet, trumpet, concertina, acoustic bass. My work has entailed translating the Russian words, seeking melodic origins, counterparts, precursors; transcribing melodies; and making some simple musical arrangements. In a couple of cases I have identified the melodies to which singers added new words or new verses.

The band has some venues at which to play this year and next. We hope also to find ways to present the music to non-Yiddish-speaking audiences – that will be challenging, I predict. There is difficult material in there and topics to set an audience thinking. Some of the songs are familiar to Jewish audiences here in the USA (though most are not, I venture to say) – one might call them "old chestnuts" and favorites, so to speak.

I plan to mix familiar with unfamiliar songs and to present them in concert or small chamber settings, together with translations of the lyrics into English for those needing language help. A combination of lecture-demonstration and sing-along with instrumental and familiar music seems like one valid approach to public presentation. Though the Stonehill material words and themes, by and large, are non-standard repertoire for the vast majority of musicians, the melodies and modes of the material can seem very familiar. That is another point of access.

I intend to tackle some of the scholarly and practical musical questions that arise at this intersection of performance and ethnomusicology; to indicate and write about the present stage of progress and the evolution of this project. I hope to lay out some possible directions for continuing work with the archive.

As a singer myself (as well as being the one who discusses material with an audience) and as I try to understand transmission of musical elements from the singer's sources, there is a lot of guesswork, of comparison and attempted contextualization. I can detect some signs of musical and folk styles and influences. In this, I have drawn on Gisela Sulițeanu's article especially where she notes[7] the

[7] Sulițeanu 1997: 18.

continuity to be found between religious and folkloric singing, between the sacred and profane. We can clearly hear that in the free and frequent use of singing styles that share ornamentation, vocal timbre and techniques with cantorial models that would have been familiar to many E. European Jews.

I shall also be as frank as possible about the archives' – and our – limitations. This is an eccentric collection, amassed by an amateur with no scholarly training. It's a collection very much influenced by a time (let's say approximately the decade 1938-1948) and a predetermined, self-selected group of informants. It can be approached in many ways; our approach is but one possible variant.

THEMATIC CONTENTS OF THE SONGS

While songs of suffering and war form an essential part of this collection, one finds Zionist songs and love songs, happy and frivolous songs, bawdy songs – songs that range widely and draw upon deep emotional sources. The songs also attest to the healing quality of music in the psychological survival of traumatized refugees. In this regard, I will say only that I find it remarkable how strongly and passionately the singers give themselves to their recording. I can only guess at the psychological stresses, cultural and personal dislocations leading up to their arrival in New York. There is reference in some songs to the "golden land", i.e., America as the place where one can build a new life.

There are many songs with revenge elements (yes, this is rather unusual and virtually unheard in the repertoire of most klezmer music of the time), such as "Es is geven a gehenem" (Song #1 in Appendix I) and "Shteyt a daytch" to the tune of "Tum balalaika" (Song #2 in Appendix I). There is no shortage of happy, upbeat songs – about love (Song #3 in Appendix I), and sex. As for humorous – even frivolous songs, there are, e.g., a Yiddish version of "The Lambeth Walk"[8] and a song about the arrival of the Messiah in Tel Aviv (*Matay mashiakh le Tel Aviv yavo*) in the newly founded state of Israel, both sung by George Kessler. Here is a preliminary list of thematic categories (alphabetically):

– Gvurah and partisan songs
– Home and homelessness
– Humor
– Katzet and ghetto songs
– Lost youth and old age

[8] According to Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Lambeth_Walk), "In 1942, Charles A. Ridley of the UK Ministry of Information made a short propaganda film, *Lambeth Walk – Nazi Style* (accessible through YouTube: www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHtEKSg-ycQ), which edited existing footage taken from Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* to make it appear that the soldiers were dancing to 'The Lambeth Walk'. The propaganda film was distributed uncredited to newsreel companies, who would supply their own narration." It is possible that this was the inspiration for the song sung to Stonehill by George Kessler.

– Love and courtship
– Miscellaneous
– Orphans and children
– Political songs
– Religious songs
– Social statements and philosophizing
– Zionist songs

Main themes, ideas, preoccupations emerge from preliminary study of the songs in the archive – themes that lead fairly readily to the establishment of main categories into which to put the songs (admittedly, quite a few could fit more than one category). In setting up categories, Dr. Isaacs and I debated possible approaches. We rejected, for instance, categorization determined largely or entirely by melodic type or contour; by singing style or musical ability; by dialect or language variant or country/region of origin of the informant. That *does not* say that these are invalid categories – not at all; there is nothing to prevent other scholars from visiting the archive with such categories in mind.

Rather, we thought a) that these were not useful approaches; b) that we were unready (and perhaps less than qualified) to apply such categorization(s) in a consistent or rigorous manner; c) that these approaches would poorly serve musical performers, some of whom might want to add such songs to their repertoires; d) aspects of (poor) recorded sound quality and (imprecise or untrained) singing ability render such judgments unreliable. The categorization process does call out loudly for cross-referencing to the extent possible, since so many items have more than one focus, more than one attitude, more than one subject/theme, and some are clearly related variants of known songs. Many have complex contextual references to people and to events or places. So, we knew from the start that any categorization applied to a track or song must allow for cross-referencing.

Scholars who have visited thematic issues in diasporic, exile, and émigré music have already wrestled with many of the problems involved here. We shall leave it to them and others to discuss the place for Stonehill's material in late 20th-early 21st-century diasporic Jewish music (Klezmer music, in the usual North American usage, it is not). We have looked at collections of similar material for inspiration, particularly such as Kaczerginski's collected songs from the Warsaw Ghetto[9].

Victor Greene addresses aspects of this in his book[10], particularly in the chapter on East European Jews. Greene notes[11] – and we see *many* clear examples of this theme in songs of Stonehill's archive – "Since Jews were continually insecure about permanent settlement… their songs speak almost exclusively to personal survival, both as individuals and as a family". Personal loss figures prominently as a theme, too; we note this in Stonehill's collected songs, as have

[9] Kaczerginski 1948.
[10] Greene 2004.
[11] Greene 2004: 61.

many scholars of (other peoples') emigration and music-in-exile. I consulted Moshe Beregovski's work – he researched songs and instrumental music from similar populations and regions as those represented in Stonehill's archive[12].

It's perhaps a little early to draw any overarching or sweeping conclusions, given the wide-ranging individuality of the singers and their songs. We cannot help but be impressed by Stonehill's labor of love and his dedication to furthering Yiddish culture. Without knowing it, he was an example of what we might now call the confluence of ethnomusicologists' and revivalists' "back to original sources" approach. I daresay that approach informs our work – an approach that has accompanied a "shift in American folkloristics from a textual focus toward a contextual focus"[13].

We knew that we would need some collective experience and wisdom above and beyond what we two can supply, be it linguistic or musicological wisdom, or simply additional commentary from performers and scholars in the field. With that in mind, we have asked several scholars to contribute transliterations and translations of chosen items. We gratefully acknowledge the advice, commentary and contributions of colleagues and scholars who have helped get this going[14].

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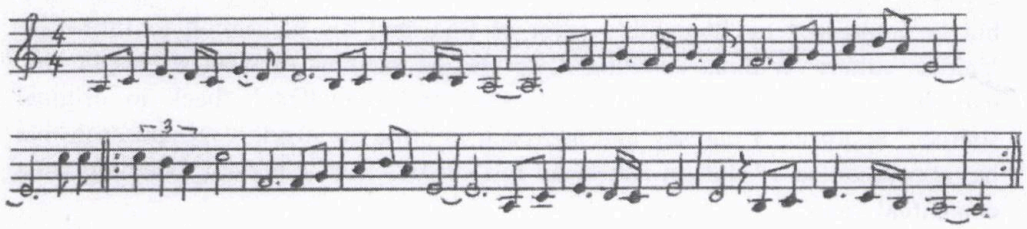
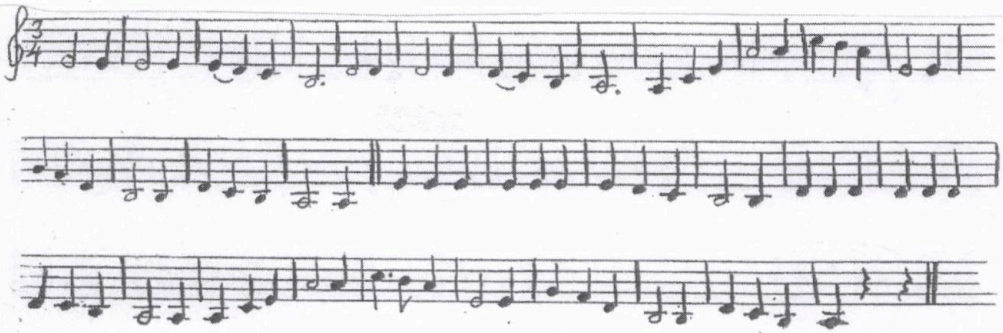
[12] Beregovski 1982; see his essay in that book about the interaction of Ukrainian and Jewish folk music.

[13] Blaustein 1993: 263.

[14] We also gratefully acknowledge the advice and experience of Bret Werb (US Holocaust Museum), Ethel Raim and Pete Rushevsky of CTMD [Center for Traditional Music and Dance] in New York City, Lorin Sklamberg of YIVO, who has posted one song from the archive at this URL: https://m.soundcloud.com/lorinsklam/eyns-eyns-eyns-eyns.

Appendix I – Sample Songs

Song #1: *Es is geven a gehenem* (Avrum Berkovitch)

'Z iz geven a gehenem unzer lebn ot o do.	It was hell, our life over there.
Shver gearbayt far yenem, nit gehat kayn gite shu.	We worked hard for others yet had not a single good hour.
Nor di frayhayt di sheyne, iz der ziger aroys,	But beautiful freedom won the day
Un di mentshn di kleyne zenen haynt vider groys.	And the small people are again great today.
Far dem zig fun der frayhayt, darf men geyn hant in hant.	To conquer freedom, we need to go hand in hand,
Gloybn nor in dem tsukumft fun dem goldenem land.	And only believe in the future of a golden land.
Oysgeshokhtn unzre brider far di velder bey di fest.	They slaughtered our brothers by their castles and forts.
Mir shnaydn yetst zayre glider in Berlin un Budapest.	We will cut off their limbs in Berlin and Budapest.
Veynt nit mames un kinder, 's iz gekumen di minut,	Don't weep, mothers and children, the moment has come,
Fun der ziser nekume, far a yedn tropn blut.	For sweet revenge for every drop of blood.

Song #2: *Shteyt a daytch* (Moishe Shvimer)

Shteyt ayn daytsh un trakht un trakht,
Er trakht un trakht vos men makht.
Vi zoy vel ikh kenen mentshn farbrenen
Es kumen der royte mayn lebn nemen.

Tum bala, tum bala, tum balalaika.
Tum bala, tum bala, tum balalaika
Tum balalaika, shpil balalaika
Tum balalaika, freylikh zol zayn!

Zugt mir Moyshele vos ikh vel dir fregn
Vos tsegayt zikh vi khmares in regn?
Vos ligt tifer in der erd vi ayn kval
Un ver shpayt haynt oys ayn blutige gal?

refrain

Her tsi Sorele, vos kensti mir fregn,
Di datyshn tsegayen zikh vi khmares in regn;
Di daytshn lign tifer in der erd vi a kval
Un Hitler shpayt haynt oys zayn blutige gal.

refrain

Zugt mir Moyshele pak ales aroys,
Vos loyft gikher, gikher vi a moyz.
* ...

Fun front loyf gikher vi a moys.

A German stands, thinking and thinking.
He thinks and thinks, what's to be done?
How well I know how to burn people;
The Red Army has come to take my life.

Tum bala, tum bala, tum balalaika.
Tum bala, tum bala, tum balalaika
Tum balalaika, play balalaika
Tum balalaika, let it be happy!

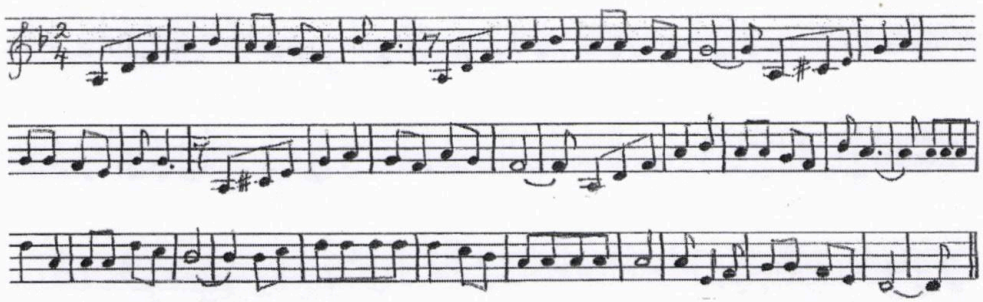
Tell me, Moyshele, to what I'm asking.
What is breaking apart like clouds in a rainstorm?
What lies deep in the earth, like a wellspring
And spits out a bloody gall?

refrain

Listen, Sorele, what could you ask?
Germans are breaking apart like clouds in a rainstorm.
The Germans lie deeper in the earth, like a spring
And Hitler is spitting out his bitter gall.

refrain

Tell me Moyshele, and unpack everything
What runs faster than a mouse?
*[*Lines missing, singer unable to recall; he forgets words to third line, mumbles and laughs; he attempts the second line again:*]
Runs away from the front, faster than
a mouse.

Song #3: *V Birobidžane* (William Yellin)

В Биробиджане есть колхоз "Октябрь"*
Там все еврейцы за зиточной живут.
Там есть один влюблённый очень парень,
А того парня Йоссела зовут.
Он любит… [*Тука тоpую*] все знают,
Он любит… [*Тука тоpую, всеч тут*]
Это Роза комбайнер для всех девушек пример --
Вот в кого наш Йосселе влюблён.

По вечерам наш Йосселе у Розы
И тихим словом он ей говорит:
"Тебе Йосселе не врёт, тебя Йосселе возмьёт,
Роза, когда настанет срок."
И вот настал же ламы час весельем
И улыбаясь Йосселе сказал:
"Тебе Йосселе не врёт, тебя Йосселе возмьёт,
Роза, когда настанет срок."

In Birobidžan there's the "October"* collective farm
They are all Jews who live way out there.
There's a guy there who's very much in love
And his name is Yossele.
Everyone knows he loves… [*words unclear*]
He loves… [*words unclear*]
It's Roza the combine harvester driver who is an example to all the girls there
And she's the one Yossele loves.

Evenings, our Yossele is at Roza's place
And he quietly says to her:
"Yossele wouldn't lie to you, Yossele will marry you

Roza, when the time is right."
And that happy time came,
And Yossele said, smiling:
"Yossele wouldn't lie to you, Yossele will marry you

Roza, when the time is right."

* Birobidzan – The "Jewish Autonomous Oblast [region]" in Siberia was established by Stalin, to which he (forcibly) moved a number of the Russian Jewish population in 1934. It was supposedly to become a sort of "Jewish homeland." See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Birobidzhan.

Appendix II – Stonehill's Correspondence with the Library of Congress

MUSIC DIVISION
APR 18 1949
RECEIVED

The Jewish School of Sunnyside

4342 - 47TH STREET
L. I. CITY 4, N. Y.

PRESIDENT
MRS. ZITHA R. TURITZ
VICE-PRESIDENTS
BERNARD S. LEVINE
MRS. LEE ROSEN
BEN STONEHILL
SECRETARIES
MRS. RUTH GOLDBERG, R'G.
MRS. ESTHER WALTHERS, C'G.
TREASURER
HAROLD ZUCKERMAN
REGISTRAR
MRS. CELIA LEVINE
MEMBERS-AT-LARGE
DAVID FEYER
ISADORE FRIED
ISAIAH HELLER
JOSEPH LEVY
ISIDORE LICHTIGMAN
MRS. ANN SHAPIRO
MRS. ANN ROSENSHINE
MRS. ELSIE WEITZEN
HERMAN ZANGER
STAFF REPRESENTATIVE
BERNARD KESSELMAN

PRINCIPAL
BENJAMIN EFRON

April 15th, 1949

Mr. Duncan Emrich
Music Division
Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Dear sir:

Donald Goodchild of the American Council of Learned Societies tells me that whether or not the Library may be of assistance to me in my project, you will be interested in the existence of such a treasury as I possess.

With the aid of a wire recorder I've been engaged in collecting over a thousand heretofore unknown, never-before recorded, notated or published Yiddish and Hebrew folksongs, ballads etc., from the lips of hundreds of refugees, Ghetto and D.P. survivors. Could have gone on taking down a thousand more each year, but began to transcribe texts & melodic lines, and realized the sheer clerical work that faced me. Until a subvention appears from somewhere, I'm plodding away at piece-meal transcriptions, transliterations and translations; and looking for assistance and a publisher. Bibliography, definitive index of all existing songs in print, biographical, historical notes, - all this, and more is envisioned in the volume, tentatively titled: Adventures of a Jewish Ballad Hunter.

Any suggestions?

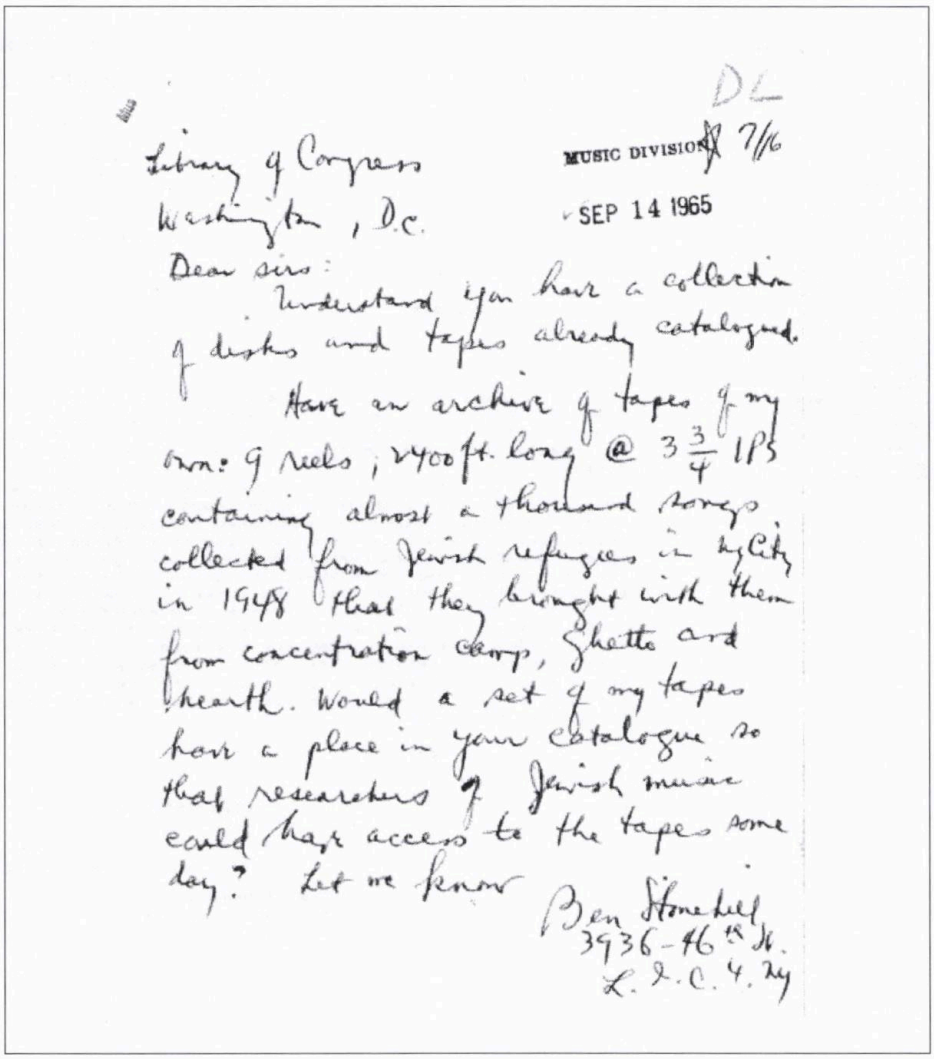
mm:bs

Respectfully yours,

Ben Stonehill

Ben Stonehill
3936-46th Street
Sunnyside, L.I.

COOPERATING WITH RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN AMERICAN JEWISH EDUCATION
JEWISH EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK



DL

MUSIC DIVISION 7/6

SEP 14 1965

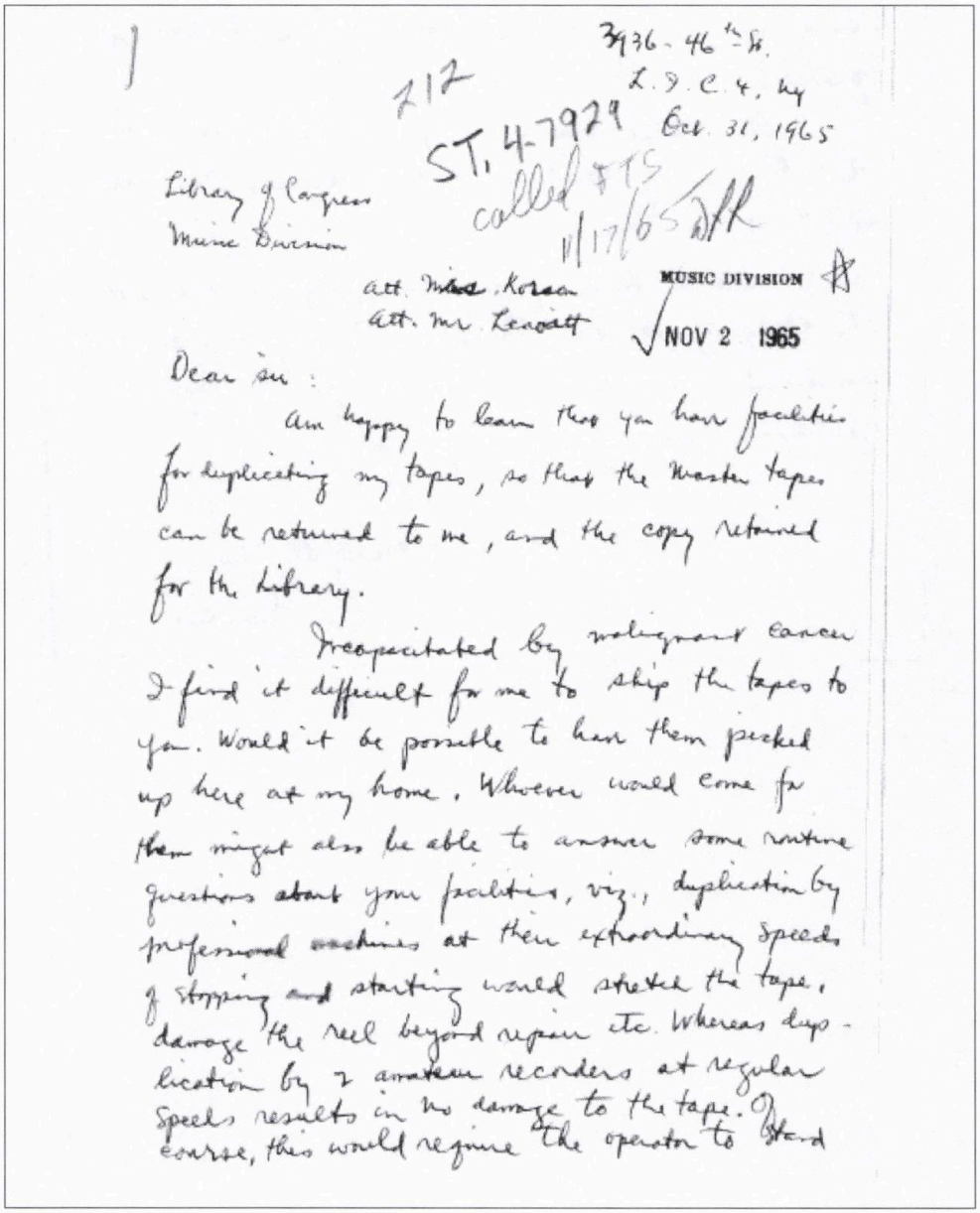
Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Dear sirs:

Understand you have a collection of disks and tapes already catalogued.

Have an archive of tapes of my own: 9 reels, 2400 ft. long @ $3\frac{3}{4}$ IPS containing almost a thousand songs collected from Jewish refugees in my City in 1948 that they brought with them from concentration camps, Ghetto and Hearth. Would a set of my tapes have a place in your catalogue so that researchers of Jewish music could have access to the tapes some day? Let me know

Ben Stonehill
3936-46th St.
L.I.C. 4, NY



3936-46 ½ St.
L. I. C. 4, N.Y.
Oct. 31, 1965

717
ST. 4-7929
called 11/17/65

Library of Congress
Music Division

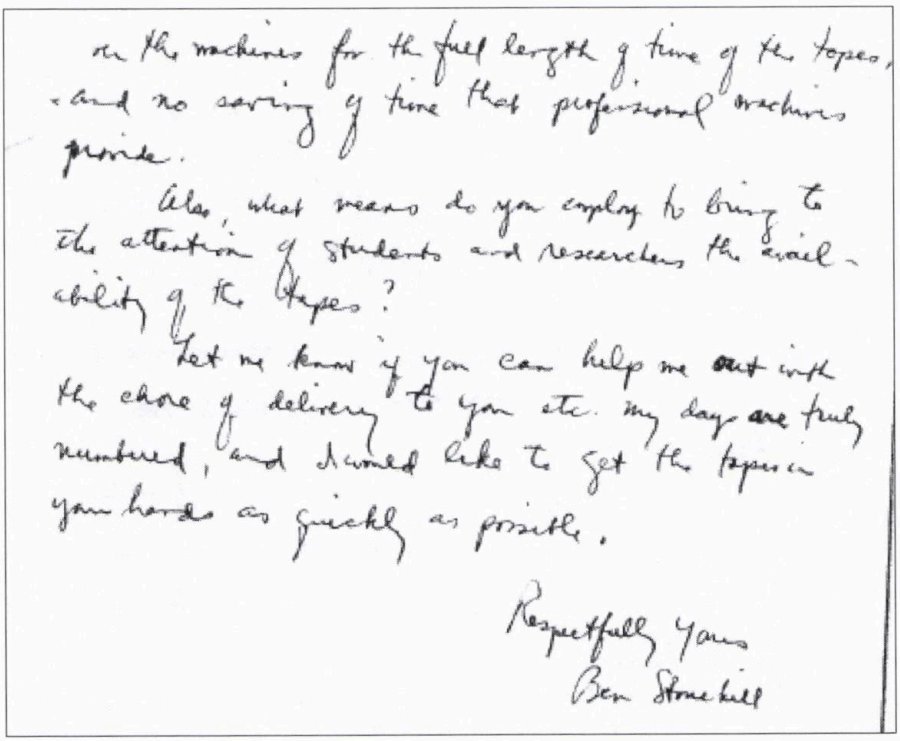
att. Mitch Korzen
att. Mr Leavitt

MUSIC DIVISION
NOV 2 1965

Dear Sir:

Am happy to learn that you have facilities for duplicating my tapes, so that the master tapes can be returned to me, and the copy retained for the library.

Incapacitated by malignant cancer I find it difficult for me to ship the tapes to you. Would it be possible to have them picked up here at my home. Whoever would come for them might also be able to answer some routine questions about your facilities, viz., duplication by professional machines at their extraordinary speeds & stopping and starting would stretch the tape, damage the reel beyond repair etc. Whereas duplication by 2 amateur recorders at regular speeds results in no damage to the tape. Of course, this would require the operator to stand



on the machines for the full length of time of the tapes, and no saving of time that professional machines provide.

Also, what means do you employ to bring to the attention of students and researchers the availability of the tapes?

Let me know if you can help me out with the chore of delivery to you etc. My days are truly numbered, and I would like to get the tapes in your hands as quickly as possible.

Respectfully Yours
Ben Stonehill

PRELIMINARY DOCUMENTATION AND INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE "C. BRĂILOIU" INSTITUTE OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE BY MEANS OF MULTISPECTRAL IMAGING

LUCIAN CRISTIAN RATOIU, CRISTINA NEAMU

ABSTRACT

This article expands a section of a large project concerning the preservation, display and storage conditions of a huge archival fund (belonging to the Folklore Archives of the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, Romanian Academy, Bucharest). Loss of readability is the most significant effect produced by the degradation process on historical documents. Whether it was caused by the aging mechanism of paper, ink or graphite degradation, repeated handling, staining or other factors related to the state of preservation, loss of readability automatically implies loss of information. In order to enhance the texts' visibility and to use the acquisitions in the documentation-investigation process, with the purpose of emphasizing the conservation status of the IEF archives, an imagistic technique was applied. Developed in parallel with the digitization phase, multispectral analysis, complementarily, superimposes and provides added value by enabling access to specialized information. The use of this nondestructive, noncontact imagistic technique and the capability to be associated with other complementary methods leads to the a better understanding of the archive's documents, and contributes directly in establishing a viable methodology for preventive conservation, based on systematic monitoring and control over the storage conditions. Further description of the criteria that led to selection and the access path of the results are presented as well, along with some analyzed documents.

Keywords: MSI (multispectral imaging), nondestructive technique, documentation, investigation, archive, digitization, heritage conservation.

INTRODUCTION

In concern with matters of cultural heritage, the moment of awareness in regard with value is equal to the need for prevention. Nowadays, for cultural objects, like with human patients, lack of a controlled environment (meaning continuous exposure to different disease causes) represents a paramount factor in

the degradation process. For archival collections, environment conditions or microclimate designates the fundamental aspect that ensures preservation for the contained materials.

In this respect, FOLKMEDIA is a project designed to organize and implement a new form of a modern archive[1], based on a strategy focused on valorization and long term preservation of the Folklore Archives of the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, of the Romanian Academy[2].

Considering the different type of materials located in the AIEF storages, multi-task associative techniques are applied with the aim to extract specific data that are relevant for the main goals of the project. Having as reference the accepted norms and guidelines[3] for the archives preservation but also in accordance with examples of good practice[4] the complex project concentrates on the following topics: microclimate and air quality control for open deposits, decontamination and protocols against bio-contamination, investigation for material characterization and evaluation of the conservation status, multi-purpose digitization program, including investigations results and possible intervention (decontamination, consolidation, cleaning, storage condition).

An efficient plan to monitor, document, investigate, study and diagnose the heritage of IEF archives, automatically enables new information which can and will be used further to develop a strategy for preventive conservation of the deposit. Also, it will exploit intrinsic details of the manuscripts, by revealing to the folklorist, ethnographer, philologist or historian, precious information regarding hidden details of the original transcriptions, which are not available to the naked eye.

Multispectral imaging technique must be regarded as a viable solution for fast examination, whose results must be linked with other complementary investigations in order to disprove or confirm a certain diagnosis.

As a part of a complex multidisciplinary approach project implemented for the AIEF, multispectral imaging represents a fast, portable, nondestructive technique applied for preliminary documentation, investigation and diagnosis. Along with the digitization program and other complementary scientific techniques this analysis is integrated into a customized database. The role of this electronic product is to administrate large quantities of data, produced by the digitization program, and to facilitate access to specialized information that concerns the archives management but also the state of conservation. Main objective of the project is to organize and implement a new form of a modern archive, which will strictly follow a plan for risk assessment, in order to ensure the collection's viability[5]. Accessing nondestructive

[1] Rădvan and Simileanu 2013.

[2] The Folklore Archives of the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of the Ethnography and Folklore (of the Romanian Academy, in Bucharest) will be abridged henceforth as AIEF.

[3] ICA (International Council of Archives) 1996: *Code of Ethics*; http://www.ica.org/5555/reference-documents/ica-code-of-ethics.html.

[4] Ene and Rădvan 2010: 85-88.

[5] Rădvan and Simileanu 2013.

advanced scientific techniques and methods will determine, in the most gentile way, risk factors identification for the best preservation of the IEF's archival collections. This means that no additional physical stress is required for the investigated heritage.

The efficient designing, administration and management of all "patient files" (in our case, document files) represent one of the most stringent necessity for archivists and custodians. In this sense, a complex multi-task database was customized and implemented. This electronic instrument facilitates not only fast and coherent access to the archival fond, but also makes an introduction to some of the nondestructive techniques used in the documentation-investigation-diagnosis stage of cultural heritage items: multispectral imaging, LIF (Laser Induce Fluorescence, LIF Scanning, microscopy and/or colorimetric measurements, represent only a small part of complex multilayer model[6] established by CERTO[7].

AN OVERVIEW OF THE AIEF FUNDS

The AIEF is a multimedia archive which has developed over times by gathering an impressive number of documents belonging to the cultural heritage. Meant to record (and indirectly preserve) folk culture phenomena and facts, it has become "a social instrument indispensable to the preservation of the collective memory"[8]. The undisputed value of the archive is given by the complexity and the age of the funds, and of the information stored: funds recorded on different audio media such as wax cylinders, magnetic tapes, discs, cassettes, DVDs, external hard drives, etc. as well as paper-based funds (over one million sheets).

Before the invention of mechanical recording devices, paper was the only medium used for preserving song texts (of the "sung poems") collected by the philologists and musicologists. The former used it for writing down the pieces (text melodies) during their fieldwork collection were through dictation, and for the folk narratives collections they used the shorthand (stenography) form[9]. Later, after their return to the Institute they transcribed from cylinders or tapes as accurately as possible the tunes and poetic texts.

Together with paper the writing instrument was also important. The first professional folklore collections, simultaneously recorded on different types of media, led to long discussions in regard with the writing instrument quality. Finally, it was decided on the usage of a special type of pencil ("chemical pencil"),

[6] Ene and Rădvan 2010: 85-88.

[7] Centre of Excellence for Restoration by Optoelectronic Technics (of the Institutul Național de Cercetare-Dezvoltare pentru Optoelectronică [National Institute for Research and Development in Optoelectronics], aka INOE 2000, Măgurele, Ilfov County, Romania).

[8] Ispas 2007: 187.

[9] AIEF Boia`s stenographic fund from the archive narrative fund.

which left violet marks, because after wetting the backside of the paper the writing became more visible. In time, this caused the deterioration of the paper and, consequently, of the information which turned unreadable. In parallel with the dip pen stylus, of violet or black ink, exclusively used until the end of the World War II, the philologist researchers used the pencil and, later, the fountain pen and the ballpoint pen. In the same time, the musicologists never used ordinary pencil or chemical pencil to transcribe music, only black or violet ink stylus.

At a closer look upon documents, ink (blue or black) seems to have been the most resistant and durable material (if kept away from humidity and moisture) used to write on paper, as it is proved by the documents contained in the archive. As an example, here are reproduced three musical transcriptions of songs collected in different years by three known Romanian personalities, documents handwritten in black ink, kept in good condition, that prove those stated above. The first document is titled *Călugărul* [The Monk][10] collected in 1908 in Suceava County by Alexandru Voevidca, considered one of the best folklore collector of early times; the second transcription belongs to Dumitru Georgescu Kiriac, made in 1912, titled *Cine hăuie pe luncă* [Who is Singing on the Meadow][11]. Its importance is given by the fact that this document is the first sound recording on wax cylinders within the AIEF (inventoried as number one). The third document is titled *Frunză verde ca bujoru* [Green Leaf like Peony], transcribed by Constantin Brăiloiu[12].

An extensive archival documentation on the funds and inventory instruments allowed us to identify an item in the manuscripts fund, which I believe is the oldest AIEF document. This is a notebook[13], dated 1877, written in black ink, containing poems and songs belonging to the church singer Dumitru Fogoroş, from Drăguş (Braşov County), acquired by Constantin Brăiloiu[14].

The paper fund represents the biggest part of the Folklore Archives and contains all types of sheets filled in during fieldwork as well as once backs inside the Institute. This fund, well catalogued, divided all the documents in three categories. The first category is represented by the documents, which can also be found on a sonorous medium. They have the same inventory number as the sonorous medium: the identity cards of each piece (phonograms, tapes, text cards); text cards of all phonograms, tapes, literary transcriptions, musical and choreology transcriptions, cards for identifying research genre and areas. Secondly, there are those cards which are correlated with the sonorous medium but have a different inventory number: informants' sheets and their cards alphabetically organized, and the information fund (having 36,000 inventory numbers, containing a wide variety of documents elaborated during collection campaigns, such as literary transcriptions,

[10] AIEF f.a. 875-1-1.
[11] AIEF ms. 70-1-1.
[12] AIEF f.a. 1738-1-1.
[13] AIEF ms. 35 B.
[14] As mentioned in Iliescu–Stere–Neamu 2005: 7.

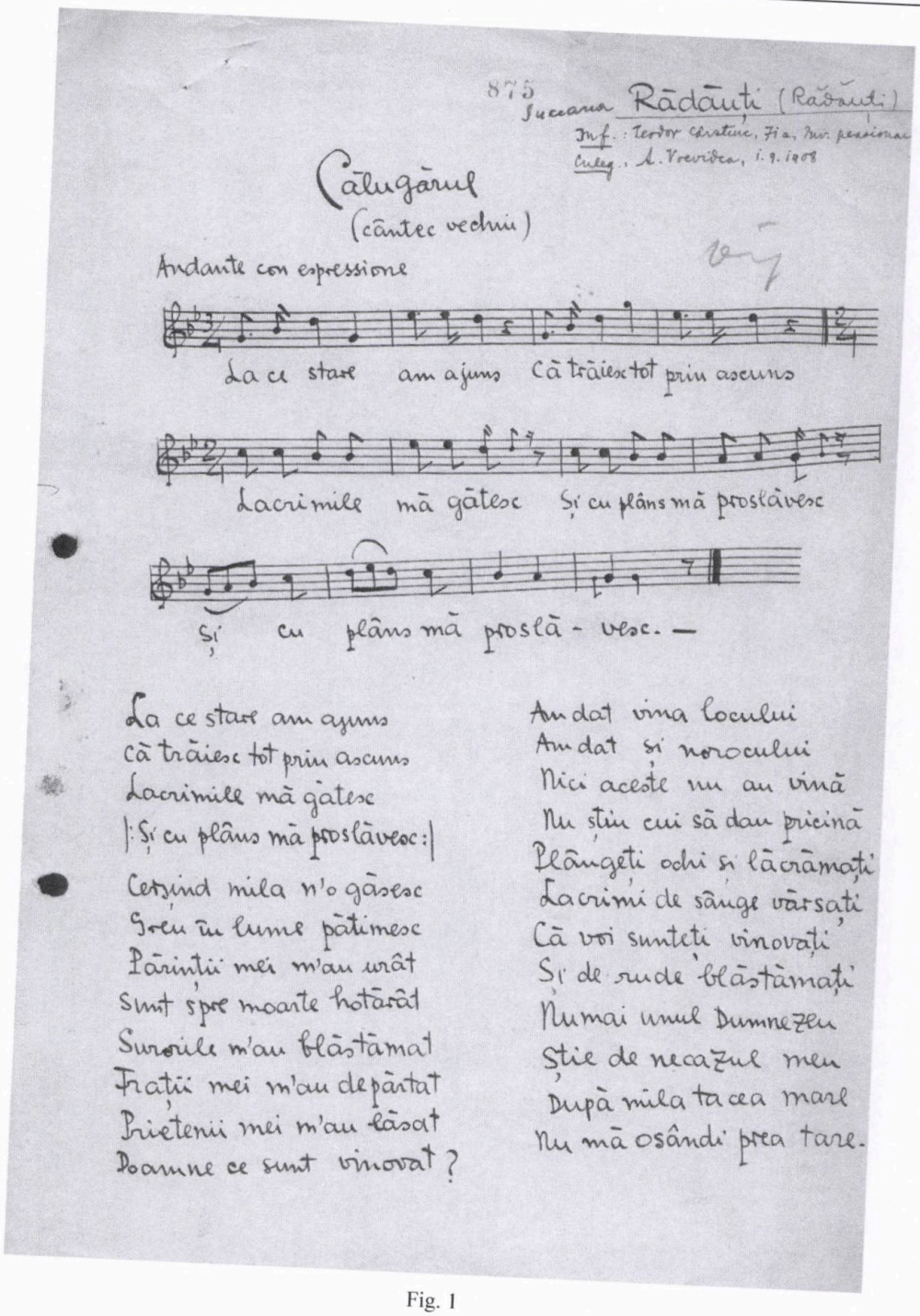

875
Succeava Rădăuți (Rădăuți)
Inf.: Teodor Cătrinic, 71 a., fără pregătire
Culeg.: A. Vrevirba, 1. 9. 1908
Călugărul
(cântec vechiu)
Andante con espressione
La ce stare am ajuns Că trăiesc tot prin ascuns
Lacrimile mă gătesc Și cu plâns mă proslăvesc
Și cu plâns mă proslă - vesc. —
La ce stare am ajuns
Că trăiesc tot prin ascuns
Lacrimile mă gătesc
|: Și cu plâns mă proslăvesc :|
Cetșind mila n'o găsesc
Greu în lume pătimesc
Părinții mei m'au urât
Sunt spre moarte hotărât
Surorile m'au blăstămat
Frații mei m'au depărtat
Prietenii mei m'au lăsat
Doamne ce sunt vinovat?
Am dat vina locului
Am dat și norocului
Nici aceste nu au vină
Nu știu cui să dau pricină
Plângeți ochi și lăcrămați
Lacrimi de sânge vărsați
Că voi sunteți vinovați
Și de rude blăstămați
Numai unul Dumnezeu
Știe de necazul meu
După mila ta cea mare
Nu mă osândi prea tare.

Fig. 1

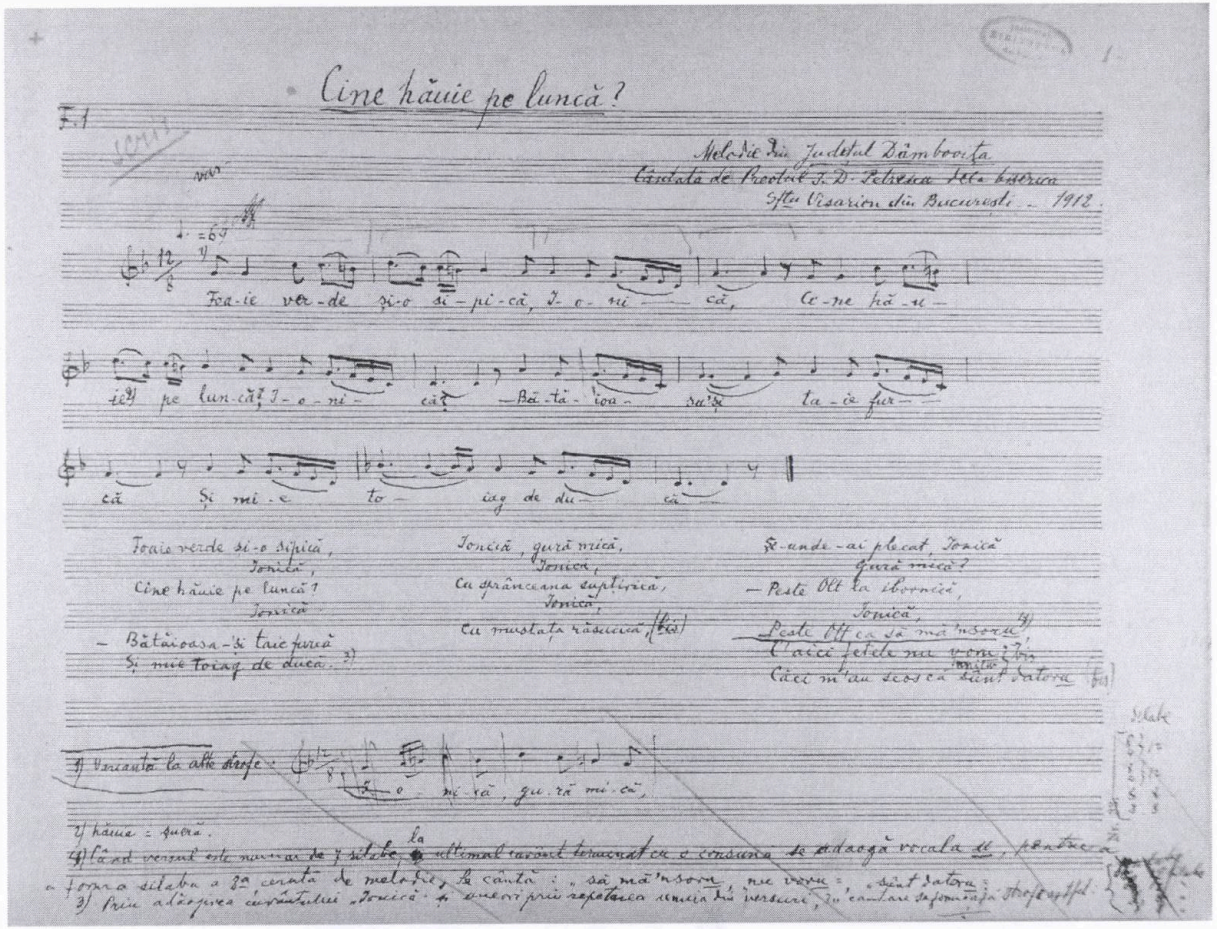

Cine hăuie pe lună?
Melodie din județul Dâmbovița
Cântată de Preotul I. D. Petrescu fost elev
Școlei Urșarion din București. — 1912.
Foa-ie ver-de și-o si-pi-că, I-o-ni-că, Ce-me hă-u-ie
ieu pe lun-că? I-o-ni-că — Bă-tă-ioa-sa ta-ie fier-
că Și mi-e to-iag de du-că
Foaie verde și-o șipică,
Ionică,
Cine hăuie pe lună?
Ionică
— Bătăioasa-și taie furcă
Și mie toiag de duca.
Ionică, gură mică,
Ionică,
Cu grânceana supțirică,
Ionică,
Cu mustața răsucică.
De unde-ai plecat, Ionică
Gură mică?
— Peste Olt la ibovnică,
Ionică,
Peste Olt ca să mă'nsoare,
Căci fetele nu vor mine
Căci m'au scos că sânt sătean
Vocantă la alte strofe
o-mă-ră, gu-ră mi-că,

Fig. 2

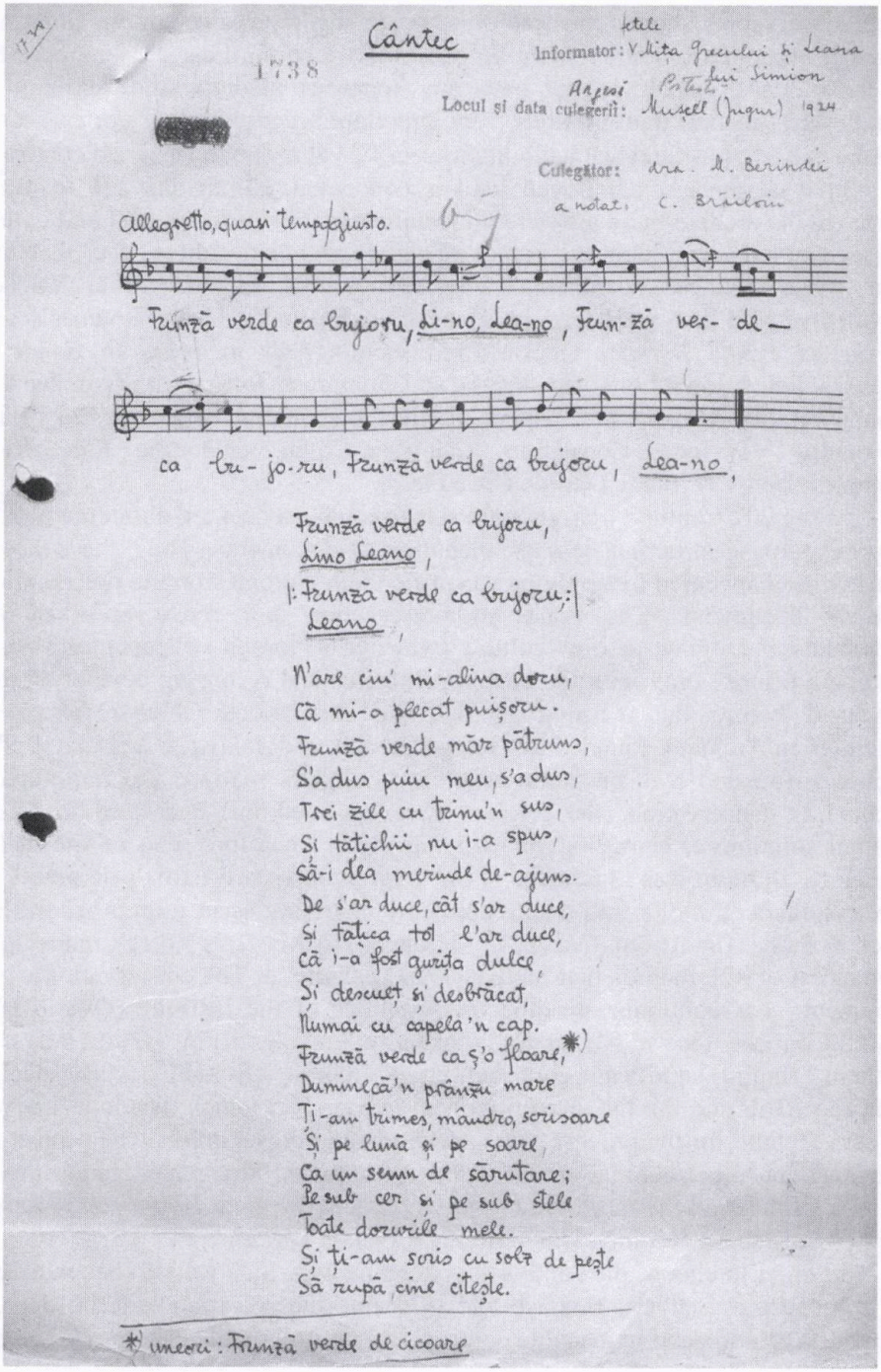

1738
Cântec
Informator: V. Mița Grecului și Leana fetele
Locul și data culegerii: Mușcel (Jugur) 1924
Culegător: dra. M. Berindei
a notat: C. Brăiloiu
Allegretto, quasi tempo giusto.
Frunză verde ca brujoru, Li-no, Lea-no, Frun-ză ver- de —
ca bu- jo.ru, Frunză verde ca brujoru, Lea-no,
Frunză verde ca brujoru,
Lino Leano,
|: Frunză verde ca brujoru,:|
Leano,
N'are cin' mi-alina dorul,
Că mi-a plecat puișorul.
Frunză verde măr pătruns,
S'a dus puiu meu, s'a dus,
Trei zile cu trenu'n sus,
Și tătichii nu i-a spus,
Să-i dea merinde de-ajuns.
De s'ar duce, cât s'ar duce,
Și tătica tot l'ar duce,
Că i-a fost guriță dulce,
Și descuț și desbrăcat,
Numai cu capela 'n cap.
Frunză verde ca și'o floare, *)
Duminecă'n prânzu mare
Ți-am trimes, mândro, scrisoare
Și pe lună și pe soare,
Ca un semn de sărutare;
Pe sub cer și pe sub stele
Toate dorurile mele.
Și ți-am scris cu sobz de peșle
Să rupă cine citește.
*) uneori: Frunză verde de cicoare

Fig. 3

direct observation sheets, musical or story telling repertoires of the informants, personal observation written down by collectors). The third category is represented by those funds, which do not have any sonorous medium: the auxiliary fund (handwritten musical transcriptions, very important because of their age and content, and the manuscripts fund that has a high scientific value due to its varied content).

In what the last mentioned fund is concerned, among the 266 manuscript entries in the archive there are several documents – either discovered and collected or just created – by sonorous names of the Roumanian culture, fact that brings great value to these documents: a lyrics notebook of the soldier V. Tomuț (discovered and also published by Constantin Brăiloiu), Harry Brauner's article *Cobza lui Vasile Bursuc*, Tiberiu Brediceanu's *Folk melodies in Banat* (862 melodies noted down on music sheets), and *Romanian folk dances* (a collection of Romanian folk dances), and papers of great personalities such as Belá Bartók, Alexandru Voevidca, Constantin Rădulescu-Codin, Gheorghe Fira, Nicolae Lighezan, Henry H. Stahl, George Cucu etc.

In the 20th Century archivists are starting to be concerned about the problems of prevention, destruction, loss or alienation of documents. Thus, the concept of *conservation* appeared by applying scientific methodologies on the preservation of archival documents. The issues of preservation and conservation of AIEF documents belonging to oral culture (whether sonorous or paper and visual), became a priority only with the advent of mechanical recording devices. And this happened before the merging of the two institutions (*Arhiva fonogramică* [Phonogram Archive], founded by George Breazu, and *Arhiva de folklore* [Folklore Archive], founded by Constantin Brăiloiu). Scholars realized the importance of documents conservation (the original sonorous medium) and tried to find the optimal solutions and method for copying them. Therefore, one of the methods chosen by Brăiloiu was to transfer of the most representative folkloric pieces from wax cylinders on molds and then records, by involving great foreign record labels (such as Pathé, Lindström, Odeon, Columbia or His Master's Voice), managing the production of 426 records that include 1784 melodies[15]. The conservation work of documents was continued by other personalities of the Institute (Ovidiu Bîrlea, Emilia Comişel, Tiberiu Alexandru, Alexandru Amzulescu) by various ways, each of them bringing significant contributions in archive activities. Today, specialists from the AIEF and the INOE are involved in a project which develops a new and modern method for the process of conservation and preservation. The project takes into account the three important documents funds: the paper fund, the wax cylinders fund, and the tapes fund (that were made by great Romanian researchers such as Constantin Brăiloiu, Harry Brauner, Ovidiu Bîrlea).

In order to choose the handwritten documents, which were to become subject for the spectral analysis, first we had to define the selection criteria: degree of paper depreciation and unreadable content, and the authorship criterion (documents

[15] Alexandru 1978: 115.

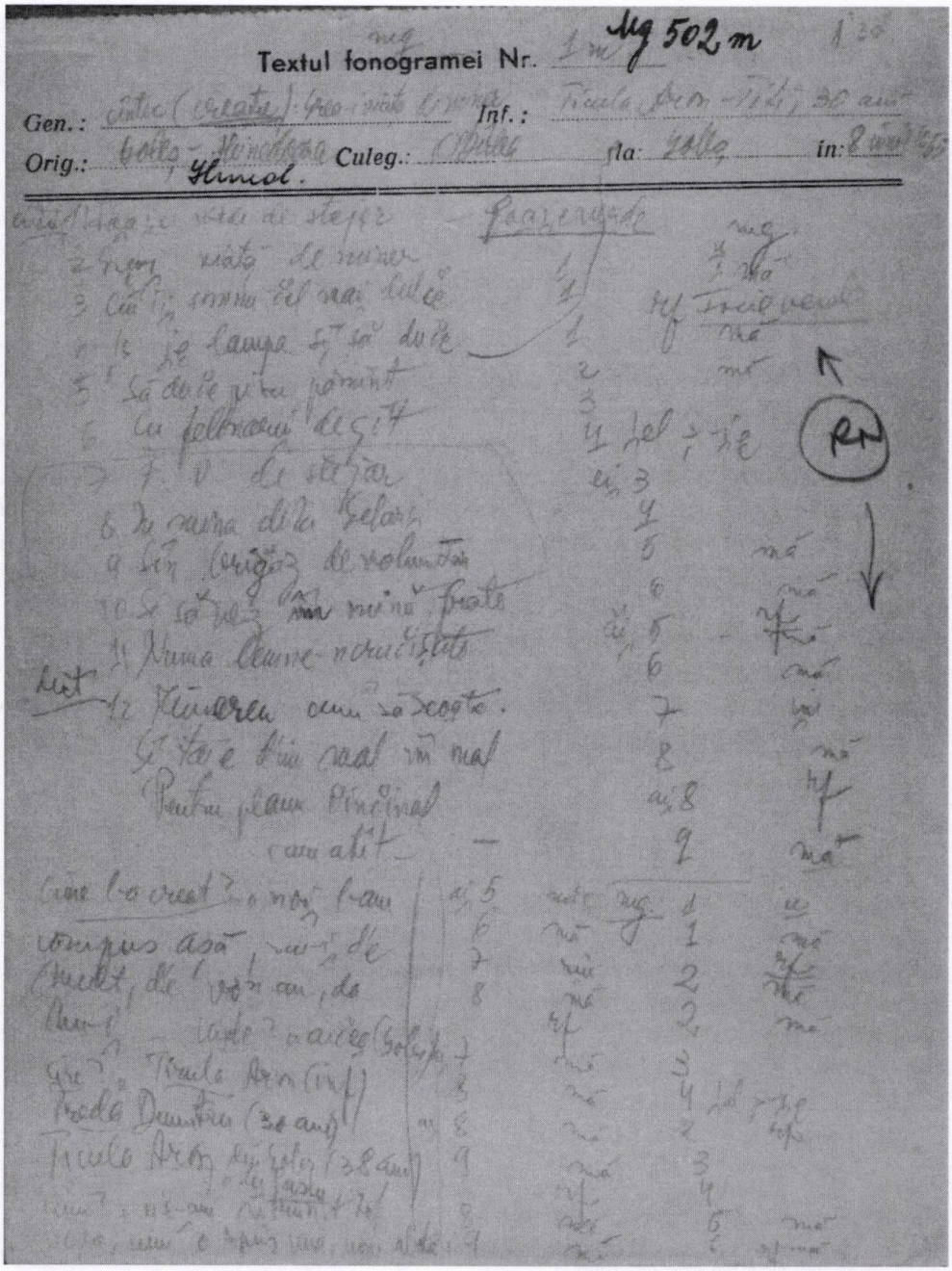


Fig. 4

created by collectors of outstanding academic career). In the last sense, we selected the documents created by Ovidiu Bîrlea, an exceptional "collector, exegete, methodologist, folklore historian and editor, one of the best field researchers"[16]. O. Bîrlea launched and refined a special transcribing method of the folkloric texts: one that faithfully conveys each informant's idioms (personal manner of speaking), the local and temporal characteristics, and the audibility of the text orally transmitted. Thus, all such transcriptions become today part of our national cultural patrimony. Another element that mattered in choosing Bîrlea's document was the fact that he used highly perishable writing instruments (ordinary pencil and chemical one[17]).

Other types of documents selected belong to the information and manuscripts funds which correspond to the first selection criterion (decay degree). An example of such documents is the sergeant Dumitru Codreanu's notebook[18]. He was from Dodeşti village (Iaşi County), and in 1917 kept a daily diary, writing down events, personal stories, various war and estrangement songs, all written during the war and the period he was a war prisoner[19]. This notebook (80x140 mm) has 76 handwritten pages of one or more authors. Some parts are written in pencil (very difficult to read), others are in black ink. Most of the writing on these pages is readable and well preserved. This is not a unique case, such documents being also collected by Constantin Brăiloiu, who managed to gather ten WWI soldiers' notebooks[20]. Due to their content and to the high risk of writing degradation, and since such documents represent important study materials (starting points for critical editions, academic articles, etc.), restoring and preserving them is certainly a priority.

DIGITIZATION PROGRAM

Digitization of historic documents, or other type of patrimonial objects, designates the process through which analog information is transformed into a digital code[21]. Thus, historical and artistic objects are preserved from further deterioration and losses caused by repeated handling. Importing them in electronically digital format facilitates access and inspection of the digitized items without any physical limitation[22]. Above all, this process can be regarded as a mean for obtaining high accuracy reference images that mark a certain historical period,

[16] Datcu 2006: 79.

[17] AIEF mg. 502 m-1-1.

[18] AIEF i. 26149, brought into the archive by two important researchers of the Institute, Ghizela Sulițeanu and Elisabeta Dolinescu, in July 1965.

[19] AIEF i. 26149.

[20] In the AIEF manuscripts fund.

[21] UNESCO, IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations) and ICA (International Council of Archives) 2002: *Guidelines for Digitization Projects for Collections and Holdings in the Public Domain, Particularly those Held by Libraries and Archives.*

[22] Duranti and Schaffer 2013.

and also as a part of an access strategy, customized for the needs of the archive researcher. In this sense a critical aspect would be to understand the digitization of the archive as a transition from physical/tangible heritage to digital heritage (and not just a modern tool that can produce surrogates of the original documents).

In accordance with the project's context the main aspects regarding the digitization process are focused on:

- preserving the original transcriptions, thus avoiding inherent degradations of this fragile and exposed material;
- integrating the resulted digital format with compatible results of scientific investigations techniques and methods, which are able to assimilate additional information (information regarding the conservation status, technological details of the documents, identification of latter interventions on the initial text);
- producing a compatible digital data, capable to be included in a complex customized database, thus facilitating the researchers' fast and accurate access.

The multi-purpose digitization program not just digitally records the archival historical documents; it also provides associative information, evidenced in the form of preliminary investigation and diagnosis by means of multispectral imaging or other non-invasive techniques available in the CERTO laboratory. Therefore, it is highlighted the complementary character of this specified technique, which can be associated with other tasks, focused on microclimate and air quality monitoring, decontamination and long term preservation of the archives.

Not the least digitization of AIEF archives (transcriptions of magnetic tapes or phonograms) conserves, in a much safer mode, an intangible heritage, whose *value of* remembrance[23] was intended from the very beginning by the researchers who themselves made the transcriptions and believed in the importance of this heritage for future generations.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE USE OF MULTISPECTRAL IMAGES FOR INVESTIGATING THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Multispectral imaging is a portable, non-destructive, non-invasive technique, with real time response, used for artworks and historical documents examination[24]. Initially developed for remote sensing, some 40 years ago[25], this technique was successfully applied in field of art conservation and art history since the early 1990s[26]. Main applications were performed in emphasizing the authenticity of paintings, study the technique of artists or underline the state of conservation.

[23] Brandi 2000.
[24] Mairinger 2004.
[25] Idem.
[26] Liang 2011.

After a decade of development, the continuous increase in the number of spectral bands led to the appearance of *hyperspectral* imaging[27], a generic term used to define this specific technological improvement. This type of systems uses more accurately divided spectral channels than the typical multispectral cameras[28], but, as a disadvantage, covers a more reduced range of the electromagnetic spectrum.

The fundamentals of spectral imaging are based primarily on the interaction of light with matter. It enables the study of an object beyond the limits imposed by the visible spectrum, which is the only available region for the human eye. For the examinations of artworks, five regions of the electromagnetic spectrum are of special interest[29]: *visible range* (400-780 nm) – for color and black & white documentation, *near or long-wave ultraviolet radiation* (320-400 nm) – for UV fluorescence and reflected UV examinations (retouches, repainting, previous restorations, characterization of varnish layers, the quality of the surface, glazes etc.), near infrared radiation (780-3000 nm) – for under layers examination of paintings, objects of graphic art or textiles, *intermediate* (3-6 μm) and *far* (6-15 μm) *IR* radiation for thermography studies and *x-ray* – in order to study the structure of an artwork or to emphases retouches or repainted areas. These imagistic modes can highlight important details concerning technological aspects of the objects or significant informations referring to the conservation status. The characteristics of each spectral region define a target area from were data will be extracted[30]. If the UV radiation is rapidly absorbed or reflected by the superficial layers (top of the surface), the IR radiation, for most of the pigments known, penetrates in the opaque layers, thus giving an in depth examination (Fig. 5). These basic properties of the radiation, reflection, transmission and absorption on certain wavelengths values stand as fundamentals for the multispectral imagistic technique.

The major disadvantage for most of the multispectral cameras is that switching between the acquisitions modes: UV-VIS-NIR will engage automatically the need to manually adjust the focus and the aperture[31]. This drawback is due to the use of different filters. Each filter used requires a certain radiation source and exposure time.

Unlike the fast developing digitization process, multispectral imaging requires a certain amount of time, in order to obtain high quality results. Even so, the technique remains one of the fastest means to obtain preliminary investigation related to the conservation status of recorded items.

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[27] Fischer and Kakoulli 2006.
[28] Liang 2011.
[29] Mairinger 2004.
[30] Bianco et al., 2013.
[31] Hedjam and Cheriet 2013.

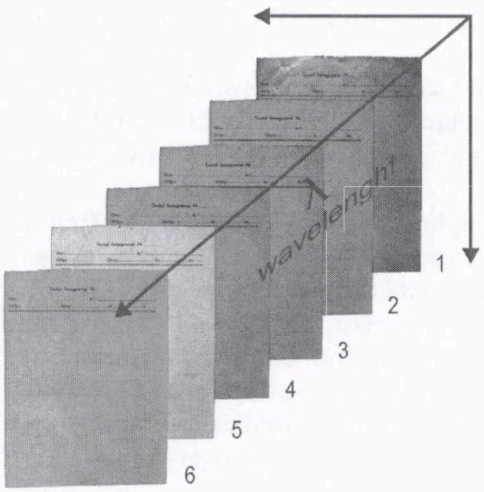


Table 1. Filter bandwidth

	Filter	Bandwith(nm)
1	Ultraviolet	365 - 400
2	Blue	400 - 500
3	Green	500 - 600
4	Red	600 - 700
5	NIR 1	740 - 900
6	NIR 2	850 - 1100

Fig. 5. a) Depiction of the process of data extraction in accordance with the selected wavelength; b) Specific filters and bandwidth values of the MSI system

EXPERIMENTAL SETUP AND ACQUISITION

The multispectral camera used for the recordings has a bandwidth that ranges from 365 – 1100 nm, covering three regions of the electromagnetic spectrum: *UV - VIS – NIR* (ultra violet – visible – near-infrared). For each of these three regions there are two different imaging modes: *UV reflection* – that records only the reflected radiation, *UV fluorescence* – enables to emphasize fluorescent materials and to distinguish retouches or other types of recent interventions made at the surface, the *Visible Black & White* or the *Visible Color* mode – high accuracy images that are used as reference models, and NIR 1 & NIR 2 – both being images recorded in the near- infrared region (780-1100 nm) – it differs only the range of the wavelengths. Other two types of imaging provided by the camera are False color infrared mode (1, 2) – recordings that reunites the information from the visible and near infrared spectrum. These acquisition modes are extremely useful especially when is needed a clear differentiation between distinct materials, colored in similar tones.

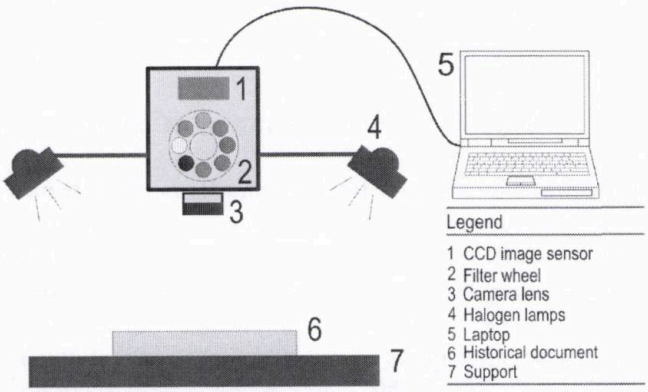
The MSI (Multispectral imaging) system uses a set of chromatic filters that work as band-pass filters[32], to produce different high resolution spectral images corresponding to different wavelengths: ultra violet (UV), visible (VIS) and near-infrared (NIR).

Lighting and environmental conditions are key aspects in recording high qualitative images. As radiation source for NIR and VIS recordings are used two halogen lamps supplied as 12 V DC with a power converter that produce 20 W for an adequate and in the same time friendly lightning, in respect with the

[32] Mairinger 2000.

conservation status of the analyzed document or artwork. The halogen lamps are positioned to form a 90 degree angle with the studied surface, in order to obtain a uniform lightning. For UV imaging modes a black light lamp, with a characteristic wavelength at 365 nm, is used as an active source of radiation. Because of the high absorbance of UV radiation these recordings also require a controlled environment, such as a darkened room.

The multispectral imaging system employed in the multi-task digitization program uses a *CCD* (charge-coupled device) progressive scan image sensor. These are silicon detectors able to be sensitive in all three spectral regions UV, VIS and NIR. As depicted in Fig. 6, the MSI system consist from *the main body of the camera* who reunites the optics, the filter wheel and the CCD detector, *the radiation source* – different for UV and NIR – VIS, and *the display and controller* of the camera, which is a laptop or PC on which is installed the specialized application software for acquisition, comparison, processing and data storage.



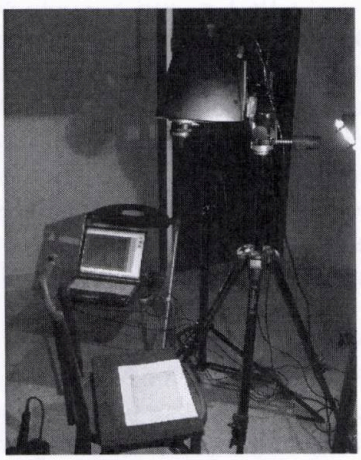


Fig. 6. Schematic representation of the MSI system (left) and display of the setup during data acquisition (right).

RESULTS AND DISSCUTIONS

This paper presents a limited number of multispectral images, in comparison with the large quantities of data that were acquired and provided by the main project plan[33].

As part of the digitization program these acquisitions will figure in the image fund that is related to the primary chart of each object and will contain recordings of other investigations, analysis and interventions.

In order to discuss about the selected case studies it must be underlined that both the paper as well as the inks and pencils that were used as component materials behaved differently to the associated action of degradation factors. This aspect can visually be pinpointed from the distinct conservation status of the documents. The criteria for selecting the examined documents was not focused on indicating fixed factors, such as the age, but more particularly the complex relation established between various degradation causes. So associated decay causes, such as ageing, humidity, temperature, light, biological attack, air quality, human factor, all in relation with the intrinsic quality of the component materials, produced various and in the same time specific degradation markers. Documents in a good state of preservation, that did no show overlapping writings, staining, erasure traces or obvious signs of damage due to usage, were not considered for study.

Foxing[34] (reddish-brown color stains) represents one of the most common forms of making the text unreadable. This symptom manifests itself as scattered spots, commonly reddish-brown in color, but also of other coloration ranging from yellow to black. Due to the state of causal uncertainty[35], it was appropriate to define what foxing stains were not. Thus, they are not the mold stains, with or without surface growth, which severely deteriorate the paper and cause a variety of colorations. They are not offset stains from contact with another paper or printing ink. They are not tide lines of liquid stains. They are not acid stains migrating from secondary material, although poor quality secondary materials may accelerate the foxing stain phenomenon.

There are currently three major explanations for foxing which have been proposed: a) fungal activity, b) metal-induced degradation, and c) multiple causes. Recently, a fourth explanation has been proposed which attempts to explain foxing stains within the context of general discoloration of paper caused by the interaction of moisture and cellulose.

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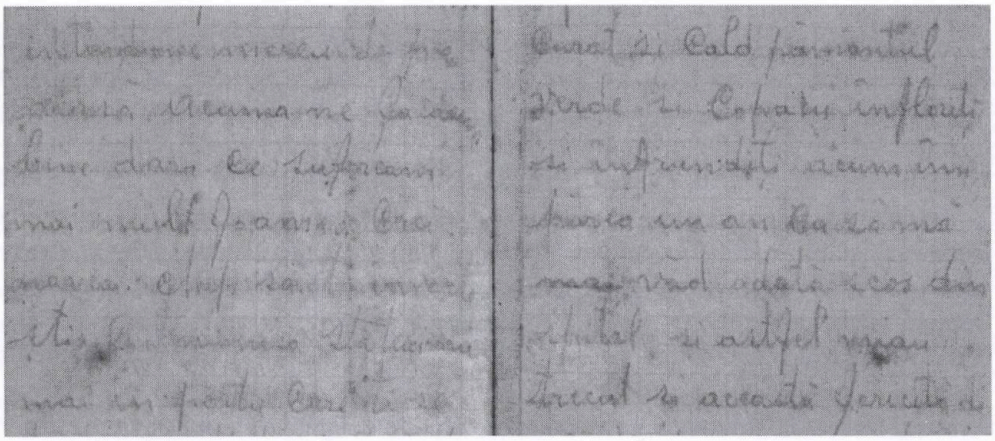
[33] Rădvan and Simileanu 2013.

[34] Foundation of The American Institute for Conservation 1992.

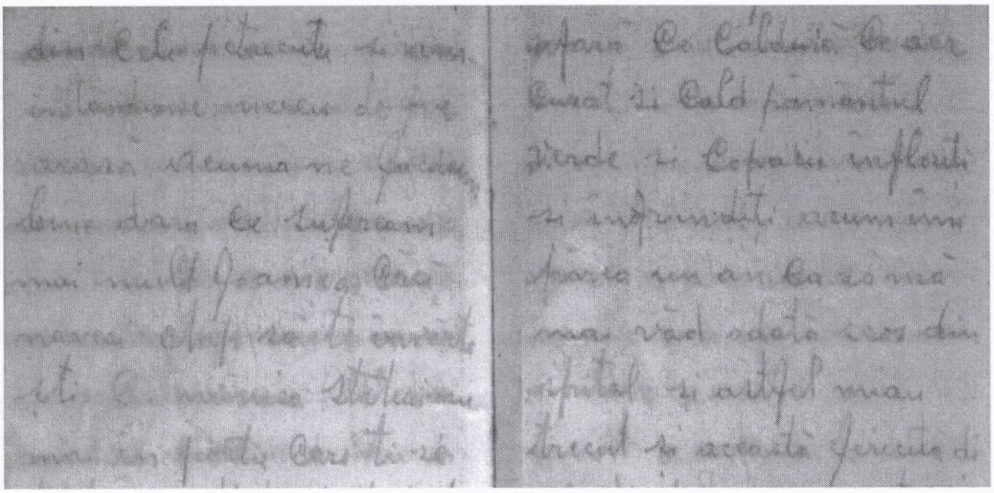
[35] Despite investigations, spanning almost sixty years, confusion and uncertainty remains as to what causes foxing, whether there is a single cause or multiple ones, and whether there is more than one type of foxing.

By using the NIR imaging mode, as is showed in Fig 7, it can be observed how the text becomes very clear. Not only that the foxing stains disappear, but also the characteristic lines of the paper are no longer traceable.

Another case study, namely txmg–136-a-1 page 16, more spectacular than the previous, is an example of text overwriting. Again, by using the NIR imaging mode is enabled the access to *in-depth* information (about the under layers structure).



a)

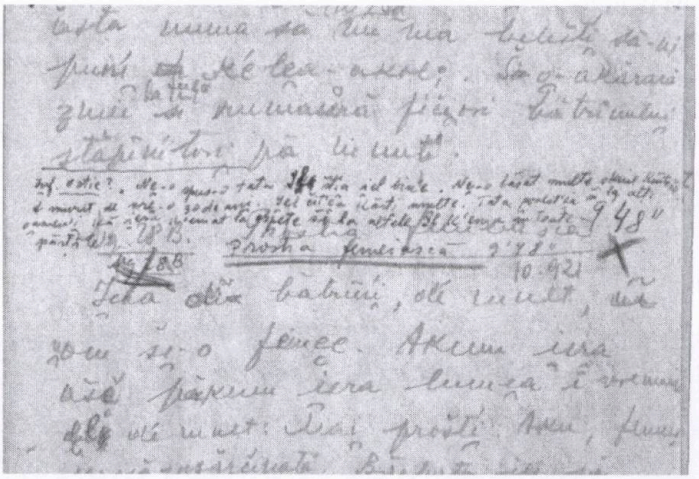


b)

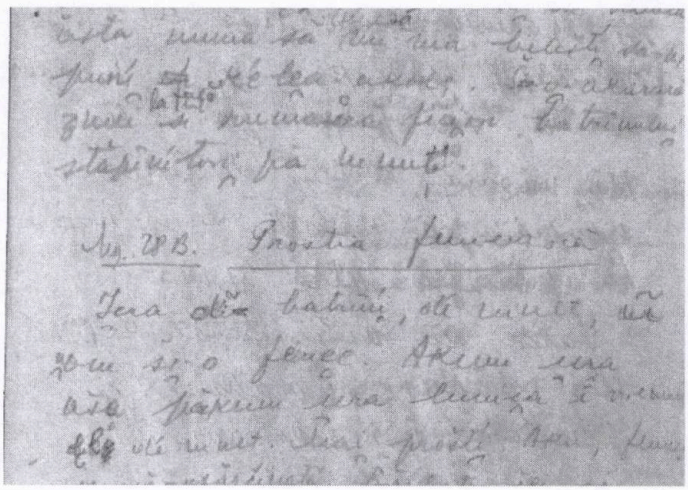
Fig. 7. Comparison between.
a) Visible Black & White acquisition; b) near infrared recording. Document code: inf. 26149.

This type of recording is based on the penetration property of IR radiation and also on the higher absorbance of the colorant material from underneath.

The factors that determined the transparency of covering layers (foxing, overwriting, ink stains etc.) or, in other terms, the required transmittance in order to gain access to the under layers are: the wavelength of the incident radiation, the thickness of the covering layer, the number of particles in the layer (volume concentration) and the ratio between the refractive indices corresponding to the pigment/colorant and the binding medium (if there is one).



a)

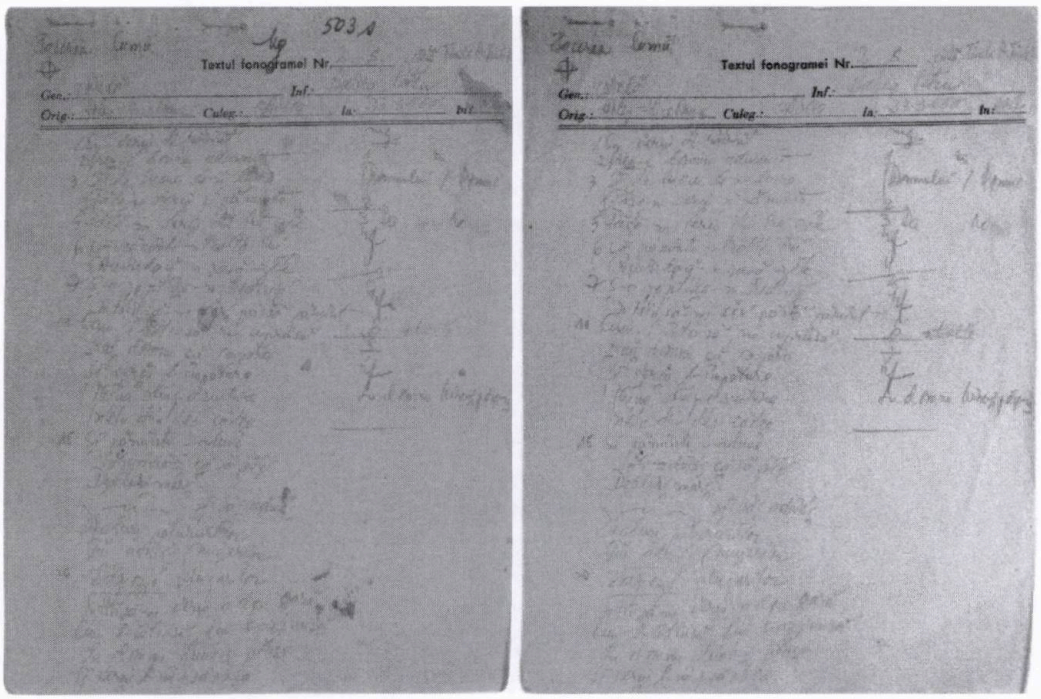


b)

Fig. 8. A comparative display, between a VIS recording a) and a NIR recording b), that highlights the presence of the initial text, masked by a later note.

In this case study the initial writing made with graphite was covered by later notes produced with ink. In Fig. 8, the left image recorded in visible Black & White (a) highlights the different type of colorant materials used for writing. In the right side of the same image (b), corresponding to the NIR acquisition, it is clearly noticed the presence of the initial text. The psychical principles behind this result are based on the properties of NIR radiation to penetrate into opaque layers and the characteristic of materials to differently absorb radiation on certain wavelength values (in this specific case graphite absorbs more near-infrared radiation than the ink which covers him).

On the first page of txmg-503-s-1 document were observed ink stains produced accidentally by someone who studied the document. Some parts of the writing are almost unreadable. The use of NIR imaging mode was the most appropriate mean to gain access to the full text of this historical document, without causing any damage to this fragile object (see fig. 9). Another way to gain access to the text would be to perform a cleaning operation, which in most of the cases would imply additional stress for the historical document, inclusively unintended degradations.



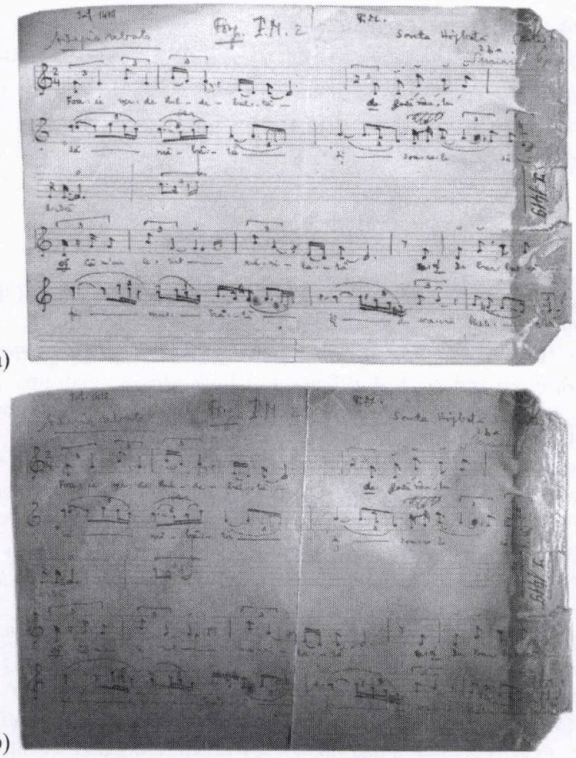
a) b)

Fig. 9. Comparison of the visible a) and the near-infrared b) recordings. In the right image is noticed the disappearance of the ink stains who are covering various parts of the document.

Following the accepted guidelines for paper conservation[36], nondestructive and non-contact technics, like multispectral imaging, represents reliable solutions for documentation.

The last case study of the selection is a musical transcription, document i-419, who emphasize in the compared imaging modes, depicted in Fig 10, informations concerning the conservation status. UV radiation capacity to reflected and record information strictly from the top of the surface enabled to highlight hidden degradations of the paper, that were not accessible in the visible spectrum. Unlike the ranking light examination, UV reflectance mode outlines not only the degradations of the surface, who are characterized by a certain low or high relief, but also by the presence of different materials which are not sensible for the necked eye like grease, oil or other type of common stains.

On the entire width of the document is noticed, in the UV reflectance acquisition, an important fold of the paper denoting the most exposed area to fracture. This detail along with the creased aspect of the paper indicates how severe can be the effects produced by prolonged and inappropriate handling of historical documents.



a)

b)

Fig. 10. Comparison between the visible recording (a) and the reflectance UV recording (b).

[36] ICA (International Council of Archives) 1996: Code of Ethics.

CONCLUSIONS

The portable, nondestructive, noncontact technique for documentation, investigation and diagnosis of historical documents that is the multispectral imaging represents a key asset of the multi-task digitization program. Accessed through a complex database, this type of information enables new research opportunities for any archive, as well for the academics (folklorists, ethnographers, philologists, historians, and others).

Thus for some analyzed documents, the acquisitions revealed very useful data related to the state of conservation or the presence of original texts that were covered by different staining materials (foxing, overwriting, inks, grease).

Switching between the three spectral domains of the multispectral imaging system (UV, VIS and NIR) allowed additional information focused on two directions: one that interest the message of the text and another one interested to preserve the document. Nonetheless, this fast and non-invasive type of documentation can be exploited, in dedicated folders for comparison, in order to accurately monitor the state of conservation, and to establish adequate and effective preservation strategies.

The results of this interdisciplinary collaboration indicate just one of the paths through which different research areas can be united in order to reevaluate and emphasize one of the most fragile type of heritage, meant to be preserved for future generations[37].

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[37] This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNDI– UEFISCDI, PN-II-PT-PCCA-2011-3.1-0363.

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Carol Silverman, *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, 398 pp, ISBN 978-0-19-530094-9 (hardback), ISBN 978-0-19-983278-1 (companion website)

Professor Carol Silverman is forthcoming about and conscious of her multiple perspectives and her fraught (one could also say privileged) positions right from the beginning, as she acknowledges (p.15): "My access to resources, my non-Romani 'outsider' status, my gender, and my training have certainly affected my perceptions." … "As I accepted hospitality and knowledge from Roma, I continually asked myself, What is my relationship to these people? What am I doing for those who so generously taught me? How can I best discuss my own positionality in this research?" To my mind, this richness of perspective, this flexible "positionality" informs the entire book in a unique and very satisfying way.

In this light, I should acknowledge that I first met the author some 30 years ago at a Balkan Music and Dance camp in the USA and that I've seen her perform – and performed with her on occasion – numerous times in the past three decades. She is one of those talented, perhaps restless, people, who blur any attempt to separate performance of ethnic music from the academic – I'm tempted to say "dispassionate, detached" – study of that complex scene in all its many varieties, manifestations, permutations.

As a teacher, mainly of Balkan singing styles; as a teacher at a Roma alternative school in Philadelphia in 1975; as a professor, at the University of Oregon; as a performer on the highest professional levels, having sung with the formidable saxophone player Yuri Yunakov and his band, at Yunakov's invitation in 1994, and sung and danced and celebrated with many Romani musicians and artists, she brings decades of first-hand experience, a depth of understanding and personal involvement to her chosen subject that is extraordinarily rich and insightful. She works constructively with such viewpoints as "collaborative ethnography,"[1] "reciprocal ethnography,"[2] and "cultural hybridity, this latter concept coming in for some closely focused and closely reasoned examination in Section 3 of the Introduction – "Dilemmas of Diaspora, Hybridity, and Identity" (pp. 39-56; see also my concluding comments in this review). Her work here shows an ability to negotiate many roles, from that of performer, to field researcher, to academic, to teacher to transatlantic inter-community link between Macedonia- or

[1] Lassiter 2005.
[2] Lawless 1992.

Bulgaria-based and New-York-based Roma families. I daresay she is also brave enough to wade into this controversial area with good humor, compassion, and keen intellect.

Her focus comes across clearly in the introduction (p. 4): The book combines a transnational approach with an ethnography of community life in relation to music. "My community-based fieldwork focuses on two diasporic Macedonian Romani communities: Belmont, located in the Bronx, New York; and Šuto Orizari (known as Šutka), located outside Skopje, with comparative materials from several Bulgarian Romani communities." She re-states her focus again (p. 5): "*Romani Routes* investigates the cultural politics and the political economy of Balkan Romani music making embedded in changing historical inequalities" and on page 6: "*Romani Routes* also highlights several Romani individuals, communities, and genres of music from Macedonia and Bulgaria to ethnographically document their diasporic route."

Prof. Silverman obviously has been able to relate on many levels to both sexes and a couple of generations of Romani tradition-bearers. Her affection for and appreciation of the vital, still-evolving traditional music and dance scene here in North America[3] provides us with many vivid and thoughtful insights. As she says (p.5), "Whereas most folklorists have used a performance framework to study bounded events, some scholars have fruitfully expanded the concept to embrace identity construction and gender management." I daresay the author is to be included in that group of scholars and could even be said to have created a notable expansion of that very concept.

"Stylistic Trends" (pp. 31-37) conveys a sense of the rapidly evolving dynamic growth of musical stylistic variety amongst the Roma of Macedonia, Bulgaria, Serbia, and amongst the Roma communities of W. Europe and N. America in particular, emphasizing the extent of musical cross-fertilisation, musical migration, borrowing and improvising that characterize Roma music – and which thereby makes it very difficult to study. In many ways it is a moving target *par excellence.* Page 23 (under the subheading "Balkan Historical Trends") outlines the main areas of Roma musical involvement. They "have had a virtual monopoly of some forms; and have been virtually absent from other forms.... For example, Macedonian Roma have never played rural instruments such as *gaida* (bagpipe) and *kaval* (end-blown flute). In Bulgaria, however, Roma played these instruments because there was a market for them." However, see Mark Levy's dissertation[4] for more about *gajda* in particular.

Silverman notes, for example (p. 26): "For centuries Roma have been one of the main forces of innovation in Balkan music. Their role of innovators can be partially traced to the motivation of selling new material to patrons.... Musicians

[3] See Laušević 2007 (as well as my review, Packard 2012).
[4] Levy 1985.

also value innovation for its artistry; they carefully listen to and evaluate, detecting precisely what is new and worthwhile in technique, melody, harmony, improvisation, genre, text, and form. …innovation isn't enough to win admiration, novelty must be accompanied by superior technique and soulful passion."

"Celebrations are the glue that binds Roma to their families and communities" (p. 83, Chapter 6: *Transnational Dance*). The author catalogues the family/community celebrations, the spheres within which these occur, the often protracted advance planning that leads up to celebrations, an advance planning that attempts to maximize attendance by the greatest possible number of family members, scattered around the globe though they may be. A primary goal (one of several goals, I might add) of the extensive taping and recording which she documents is to demonstrate performative reinforcement of identities, of kin and status links. She explains, documents, and gives participants' own gloss on the importance for Roma of videotaped recordings of these events for sharing with extended family – all of which makes clear how strongly the ties that bind them are people-focused rather than place-focused. This chapter surveys extensively the main musicians performing, playing, singing, participating actively in Belmont Roma community's social life, offering biographical details, summaries of musical influences, training, and style(s), collaborations, and so forth. Prof. Silverman is indeed well placed to be able to put so much musical background into print – she is conversant in the kind of in-group language and communication that passes from one musician to another, communication that mediates musical combinations, re-combinations, interactions with non-Roma musicians and promoters and which keeps the music scene alive, vibrant, dynamic.

I found her explanation of čoček fascinating: "As a solo dance, čoček has a long history rooted in Ottoman professional genres and lies in a continuum to contemporary forms of belly dance (p.107)." In Chapter 6, she compares and discusses Romani dance in (many) locations, čoček in particular, in the Balkans and in diaspora communities, investigating its stylistic, social, and power dimensions in relation to the marginality of Roma in wider society and the ambivalent position of women. She points out (p. 113) that "A good čoček dancer has the admiration of the entire community, and her family proudly displays her talents" and that the "female art of dancing čoček is chronicled in hundreds of songs."

Her discussion of dance leads into some thorny and much-debated areas of ethnic stereotyping and ambivalent attitudes held by many Roma and non-Roma. On p.115, for instance, she notes that "As a solo dance, čoček encodes a number of meanings for non-Roma, who to varying degrees may be aware of its sexual associations and its ties to Roma. From there, she proceeds into an overview of some of the ways Roma stereotypes were presented, perpetuated, negotiated, and accepted by Roma musicians and dancers themselves; by many performing dance ensembles in socialist countries; by media presentations; and by non-Roma-

organised public spectacles. The examples she gives ring true to me, in that I've observed some of them myself.

The first examples of stereotyping that I encountered and that struck me personally cropped up in the activity of a KUD (*kulturno umetničko društvo*) – "Žikica Jovanović 'Španac'" – in which I danced and played during 1973-74 in Belgrade, notably in the suite of dances named "Vranje" (from the town of Vranje in southern Serbia). Prof. Silverman makes mention of that particular suite (p.116) which proved very popular and gained widespread attention amongst Yugoslav dance groups after the appearance of the first version in 1949. The same shallow stereotyping struck me much more forcibly in May, 1974 (during the 2 days of May Day festivals featuring dance groups from all over Yugoslavia). There I was sitting in Kalemegdan Park watching troupe after troupe after ensemble present barely dissimilar versions of choreographed suites, such as "Vranje" – all learned at the organized dance group choreography workshops for amateur groups, meaning from the same (state-approved) sources. There was precious little original choreography and no improvisation in the dance or music whatsoever insofar as I was able to see. It was all part and parcel of the state-managed and controlled use of art for propaganda purposes that was prevalent in most Communist countries at that time.

Moving on from the dance discussion, prof. Silverman delves into "Dilemmas of Heritage and the Bulgarian Socialist State" – Chapter 7. As I read it, I thought of parallels between Bulgaria's attempts, in the 1980s, and those of "fraternal socialist countries" to manage what were sometimes claimed to be "nonexistent" minorities, i.e., Turks, Roma, Pomaks, Vlahs, Albanians, and Muslims, *inter alia*, by forced name-changing; by manipulating images via music and dance; by onerous taxation of anything that might look like capitalist free enterprise; by repressive and coercive legislation, and so forth. She demonstrates her impressive command of performance dates and knowledge of major musical actors in the wedding bands; details of musicians' contracts and encounters with the authorities who tried to regulate the bands' activities; and the many nuanced, often-contradictory interactions of the authorities with musicians.

She makes a strong claim that "In the 1970s and 1980s the genre wedding music (*svatbarska muzika*) catapulted to fame, causing 'mass hysteria,' according to one journalist… Roma were prime innovators in the wedding music scene" (p. 131). She herself was present at many noteworthy weddings, festivals, and public events of the 1980s and 1990s, and was able to discuss what went on as seen not only from the audience side but also from the viewpoints of the musicians and dancers who were performing – discuss the events both during performance and subsequently, in retrospect. In doing so, she draws on her close relationships with major figures in the fraternity of wedding music musicians, with whom she can talk as between equals and insiders.

With changes brought on by the 21st century, with changing economic conditions, with increasing freedom of movement throughout the EU, the music and dance scene has evolved, splintered, differentiated. There is some amount of nostalgia (on the part of some musicians) for the old days, when wedding bands could earn large amounts of money through bookings and through generous tips. On p. 157, we find this: "Surveying the landscape of wedding music in 2010, immediately one notices that many of the hundreds of groups that existed in the late 1980s and early 1990s have simply disbanded, but several new ones have emerged." The author enumerates the predominant repertoire of the major bands still playing, which dance rhythms get played most often, who is making recordings, how instrumental styles and the mix of instruments evolves, how the bands distinguish themselves one from another, even as they appeal to differing segments of the music-listening public. It's an impressive catalogue with insightful parsing of individual group styles and musical choices.

Throughout the book, one can find references to the accompanying Web site – and this is a remarkable aspect of the book's richness and depth. The Web site provides video excerpts, still photographs, recordings, mp3's and a huge amount of well-chosen material to illustrate her many points, e.g., some of the ways in which musicians tailored their styles to the demands of official recording studios; the debased and mongrelized (my terms) music that emerged when there was forced collaboration between "folk" or traditional musicians and classically trained musicians; attempts to co-opt and partially legitimate Roma music by featuring it in facsimiles of "high art" contexts; or the energetic, adrenaline-inspired collaborations that happened when the chemistry was right and musicians improvised at the very peak of their form (mainly) in private settings. Such a valuable resource!

In short, there is much valuable material to be found in her book that merits extensive, close reading, and re-visiting. She tackles Bulgarian pop/folk, with a helpful chart showing overlaps – intersecting circles where *chalga*, wedding music, and Roma music cross-fertilise each other. She devotes an entire chapter each to two of the stars in the Roma music world – singer Esma Redžepova (of Skopje, Macedonia) and Bulgarian-American saxophonist Yuri Yunakov. Of Esma, she says (p. 201) "I argue that Esma's success was built on a number of paradoxes: she succeeded in part because of her non-Romani mentor/husband's marketing ability; her image drew on sanitized stereotypes of Romani women as exotic, nubile, emotional, and musical on the one hand, yet rooted in families on the other; and finally, she bridged the ambivalent Romani attitude of requiring, aestheticizing, and respecting female musical performances in nonprofessional realms while stigmatizing them in professional settings."

I thought it highly illustrative to focus on one internationally-known virtuoso musician (I use the term advisedly, having heard him and been awed by his musical drive and skill) – Yuri Yunakov – who has dealt with many variants of the central

dichotomy for many Roma musicians, namely, public admiration of the music in combination with discrimination in many guises. This final part of the book, then, explores in an entire chapter (pp. 221-239) "identity in transnational contexts via a Bulgarian-Turkish-Romani-American male musician who has performed for both Romani communities (on several continents) and the world music market." She intends her case study of Yuri Yunakov to serve "as a bridge between local and global sites and between Chapters 3, 4, and 5 (about Roma transnational communities) and Chapters 12 and 13 (about global marketing of Romani music)." Yunakov's perspective comes across clearly again and again in his own words and in those of fellow musicians, thanks largely to prof. Silverman's longstanding friendship and collaboration with Yunakov, beginning in the early 1990s. She helped him in his application for political asylum and served as his translator at the asylum hearing; she has sung with him and his band(s) on many, many occasions, and immersed herself in the world of Roma wedding music with his help – amongst that of others; she has been a "cultural broker" (again, my term) for him and his band(s) as he interacts with non-Roma audiences. She sums up, characterizes Yunakov (p. 238) thus: "Yunakov is a diasporic hybrid musician; he is open and flexible, learns quickly, and can fit into a wide range of ethnic musical groups. Perhaps this heterogeneity describes a specifically Romani sense of adaptation or perhaps it is his personal style."

The final two chapters represent both an exploration of Roma music as "world music" and an assessment of the freedom of exchange that accompanies our digital age. She ties together (p. 269) "previous threads to discuss issues of collaboration, appropriation, and transnational movement of music in relation to the political and economic matrix." Tangled and multifaceted interconnections arise from borrowing (Roma from non-Roma *and vice-versa*); from the production and marketing of Roma music as seen in power relationships implicated in the many exchanges on which musical performance depends; from issues of ownership, copyright, intellectual property rights; from inequalities of compensation – the listed and unlisted inequalities are multiple. This recalls earlier points, whereby she builds her case for the book's conclusion – points about hybridity, borrowing, improvisation within a dynamic and evolving set of musical parameters. Celebrating hybridity may mask underlying inequalities – "Žižek underlines that multiculturalism is manipulated by commerce" (p. 43) and "valorization of hybridity rarely changes the structures of inequality" (p. 45). Musicians (not just Roma musicians, I might add) confront this inequality repeatedly, on a daily basis, as they work with – or despite – the agents, entrepreneurs, middlemen, promoters, PR people, impresarios, venue-owners, and, ultimately, customers, precious few of whom have the musicians' interests at heart.

I hope prof. Silverman will not mind if I take one of her thoughts as a simple summary (p. 7): "Yet this is not a tale of celebration; rather it is one of contingencies, of small victories within a framework of marginalization."

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Craig PACKARD

Stavros Kourousis, *From Tambouras to Bouzouki: The History & Evolution of the Bouzouki, its First Recordings (1926-1932)*, Athens, 2013, History of Greek Music, 124 pp, CD with remastered early recordings, ISBN: 978-618-80538-0-9

Small though this book is (in Greek and separate edition in English), it represents some prodigious and careful research on the part of its author, his collaborators, and his translator(s) – Charles Howard, helped by Tony Klein – who have done splendid work making this available in English. Mr. Kourousis gives credit and acknowledgements, too, to Sony Greece and Sony USA for granting access to old sound archives and recordings, and to sound engineer, Andreas Meyer, together with musicologist and sound engineer, Nikos Dionysopoulos, in preparing digital transfers from old recordings. Thus, the book includes historical research, discussion, a wealth of photographs, and a CD with tracks of recordings, mostly from the original metal masters and all but one originally recorded in the late 1920s. It is worth noting that the CD contains 18 tracks, 9 of which are unique recordings, never before issued. With the exception of 2 of those tracks, the engineering and transfer completely eschewed any noise reduction or interference with the original sound of the copper matrices. The title is an accurate reflection of the contents – the book deals with the history of the instrumental development rather than, say, evolution of playing style or musical analysis of repertoire and rhythms.

Thus, there's a succinct chapter devoted to the history of the various instruments called "tambouras" (pp. 18-52). Kourousis devotes three pages to the bouzouki in the Peloponnese – "the homeland of the bouzouki" and has a fine contribution from one of Greece's most respected luthiers, Michalis Moundakis

about two of the surviving bouzoukis from the "classic period" of the bouzouki. These two, by luthier Kyriakos Lazaridis, were made for and played by the great musician Iovan Tsaous – a much admired leading musician of that pre-war period.

I found the care and attention to detail of information impressive throughout the book, whether in the photographic reproduction (and the choice and placement of photographs); the copies of original labels on the 78 rpm records; the descriptions of the recordings (more on that later); biographies of featured artists; anecdotal, never-published Greek material of value to understanding milieu, playing style, repertoire, and so forth. Kourousis has made considerable effort to augment the material from Western European travelers. I, for one, as both player (of baglama) and aficionado of Rembetiko music, appreciate the weighty he gives to such anecdotal material from so many players, musicians, singers, participants in the music scenes of the 19th century and especially the flourishing role that music played in development of a Greek (as distinct from, let's say, simply non-Ottoman) identity.

Much of that early 20th century search for clarity and definition in the realm of identity politics was expressed in music by musicians. Of course, it took place on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, there being large immigrant populations of Greeks in New York City, for instance, Boston, Chicago, New Haven Connecticut, and Montreal. Much of the recorded evidence of evolving musical style intertwined with ethnic identity comes from immigrant communities – particularly those of New York City. The author describes a process, providing examples of those individual performers whose contributions rose to prominence on both sides of the Atlantic. Alas, we have recordings of the very early years made only in N. America and in Germany, so the evidence may skew our understanding simply because we must rely on what recorded evidence we have, incomplete though it be.

Musical historians and musicologists will, I think, appreciate the author's bibliography of the earliest recordings on pp. 86-89. The very earliest recordings come from 1917, from a "holding camp" for prisoners of war in Gorlitz, Germany, consisting of 5 cylinders and a gramophone record, on which Kostas Kalamaras, from the island of Syros, is the bouzouki player. The next oldest are from Chicago (1926) and New York City (1928 and 1929). As I listened to them, I was reminded of the process that Mark Slobin describes briefly in his small book about folk music.[5] Talking about "neither fully urban nor fully rural" migrants to big cities (South Africa, in this instance, although his description fits many centers and many patterns of urban migration all over the world), he summarizes "the effect, so common to evolving roots music: strong performers seize the opportunity to develop personal styles, the level of performance rises as a result of emerging stars and continuing contests, the music finds new venues and contexts, and moves out, seeking commercial support. Thus, migrants to cities take their wandering ways

[5] Slobin 2011.

into the world usually with very mixed and sometimes surprising results for the original communities and their musical sensibilities."[6]

Of necessity, then, given a paucity of existing recorded evidence and the attention accruing to "strong performers" on bouzouki, the author organizes much of his book around the biographies of the bouzouki luminaries, the innovative stylists, the songwriters and strongest, most-eagerly sought accompanists. I think that organization serves him and his subject well. It seems there was no shortage of luthiers on both sides of the Atlantic to supply instruments, as the demand grew for a range of bouzouki models. Advertisements and price lists testify thereto. Kourousis' book benefits from some acute, extremely careful and close listening to the early recordings; to dogged finds of recollected and fragmentary oral testimony from singers, players, fellow musicians; advertisements and archival photographs; and so forth. He notes, in his foreword: "Often the best, or even the only, written descriptions have been given to us by Western European travelers who had a very limited understanding of Greek and Ottoman musical culture" (p. 13). Colorful and strong performers there were; they were active, forceful, and influential – Kourousis gives them recognition.

I found it interesting to see the very varied tunings used by bouzouki players, as discussed and listed (pp. 77-80). The descriptions of the recordings list the tuning employed in each – even to the extent of specifying number and type of string(s) for each course on the instrument heard. Similarly, the author provides detailed measurements of extant old instruments (many being what look to me like transitional types, before there was much standardization of manufacture and agreed-upon proportions), of their fretting (p. 67) and stringing, and so forth.

Allow me to close with my own emphasis on the idea expressed by both Slobin and Kourousis – something of which I've been conscious myself many times, in many settings. Talking about the extraordinarily rich tradition of musical improvisation that permeates the work of bouzouki players, Kourousis says: "the folk artist acts as a mediator of the spirit of the local social group and contributes to creating a relationship between individual and communal creativity" (p. 16). Slobin puts it thus: "musicians, many of whom are experienced hands in the cross-cultural and multilingual worlds… are often the only people able to shape a shared aesthetic space."[7]

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[6] Op. cit.: 97.
[7] Op. cit.: 89.

Mircea Păduraru, *Reprezentarea Diavolului în imaginarul literar românesc* [The Devil's Representation in the Romanian Literary Imagination], Iași, Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2012, 272 p., ISBN 978-973-703-812-8

Mircea Păduraru's book is a symptom of the new orientations today in ethnology and literary history. *The Devil's Representation in the Romanian Literary Imagination* has the ambition of giving expression to some problems that have long been present at the core of Romanian literary history, without being formulated. But this author is best placed to try and address them.

Mircea Păduraru's book is placed on the middle line between ethnology and literary history, each of them having a tradition, a methodology based on several presuppositions and a language of its own. Being himself a young ethnologist with a good practice as a literary critic, Mircea Păduraru puts the two traditions in dialogue. And this is a very important thing to do, since ethnology was born in Romania in the 19th century from the 1848 generation writers' ambition to better understand and circumscribe the national spirit, while literary history and criticism had begun, approximately in the same time, to chart the apropriation of the geographical and social national landscape by fiction writers. The peasant novel was an obsession of literary critics since before its existence, while the symbolists were deeply preoccupied with city poetry at the turn of the 20th century. Such examples indicate that the premises of the modern Romanian literary culture were often unavowedly and unconsciously nationalist. A sane ethnological analysis, one that refrains from uncritical enthusiasm and avoids granting unverified privileges, can help both literary history and Romanian ethnology. This is why, in my opinion, Mircea Păduraru's book has a bigger significance than that of being the first monograph of diabolical figures in the Romanian literary tradition, folkloric or not; it contributes to the articulation of a critique of the tendency to read literature as a national pedagogical discourse.

To study the folklorical representations of the Devil, the book makes use of an impressive bibliography and an admirable scientific discipline, citing all the relevant sources and giving each their importance. But this doesn't mean that it goes out of its way to look scientific, making a fetish of its object by loudly claiming its "rigorousness". The writing is analytical, not simply descriptive. Mircea Păduraru researches acribiously, makes seldom classifications and creates suple and strict arguments, presenting elegantly the pros and the cons of every thesis he puts forward. It is not only a proof of intellectual health. His qualities are imperative when one confronts "what we today call with all circumspection the Romanian mind" (as Păduraru says), because the field is mined by generations-long prejudices researchers often forget they even have.

On the field of folklore studies, the book reasserts the vitality of folklore, which neither pauses, nor marches inexorably towards secularisation and

positivism, as one classical vision of spiritual progress would have us believe. Tradition has a generative function and a restraining function: folk creations are obliged to respect preexisting formats, and "non-canonical" experiences have to be reinterpreted in order to be accepted by the corpus of collective memory. Its creations may belong to a "mythical" age (world creation, the genesis of various objects, highly particular in the eastern European countries), a "legendary" age (when man confronted the Devil) and a "popular" age (which uses the diabolical presence to explain some particular evil, for instance the existence of theft). But the more elaborate products of folklore, the tale, the legend, the ballad, pertaining to its "metaphysics", are not the only ones which deserve attention. There also exists a "physics" of folklore, that of "narrated occurences", lived experiences, which are often very unusual. More to the point, the famous Romanian (and Balkan) tales of stupid devils being duped by humans are not the only folk vision of the Devil: there are also scary stories of encounters with Satan, of haunted grounds or ponds, of children killed, people maimed and houses destroyed. There is an "optimistic" (comical) and defensive position towards Evil in Romanian folklore, but there is also another, "pessimistic" (dreary), lacking compensation, in the "brute" folklore of unusual occurences. In any case, to the folk/popular mentality, the limits of the physical world are penetrable.

Some of the classical masterpieces of Romanian literature in the 19th century were written starting from folkloric representations. Mircea Păduraru doesn't analyse, for instance, the zestful *Toderică* by C. Negruzzi or A. Russo's *Piatra Teiului* [Teiu's Rock], with their fascinating ideological perspective of generational divides over the question of modernisation in Romanian society. The author writes, though, pages filled with refined and valuable observations about Ion Creangă's *Dănilă Prepeleac*, *Stan Pățitul* and *Ivan Turbincă* and about I.L. Caragiale's *La hanul lui Mânjoală* [At Mânjoala's Inn], *Kir Ianulea* and *Calul dracului* [Devil's Horse]; for instance, one might read the interpretation of the final scene in *Stan Pățitul* as a parody reading of the creation of woman, which is done here by the Devil, not by God. Also very shrewd is the view of the Romanian classics as interpreters rather than collectors of folklore, with a tendency to "humanise" the Devil through euphemisation. Their imaginary is a "nocturnal", propitiatory one, with evident intentions of national pedagogy, in a very subtle aesthetic code.

Mircea Păduraru proves there exists a strong tradition in Romanian literature for representations inspired by folk culture not just at the authors cited, but also in Gala Galaction, Pavel Dan and Vasile Voiculescu's work, while an interesting development belongs to the realist authors who adopt some elements of the folk imaginary, such as Ion Agârbiceanu (there is a remarkable interpretation of his novella *Păscălierul*, with a type of "diabolical man" who juggles sophistically with the Byblical commandments). Also noteworthy are the chapters which interpret the Romanian fantastic literature. Mircea Păduraru observes the critics' insistence in dissociating a "proper" fantastic (inspired by the German and French Romantics,

Hoffmann and Gautier) and a "folklore-inspired" fantastic that is, as it seems, less entitled to literary esteem. Păduraru proves these prejudices wrong: among the best modern fantastic prose writings there are some inspired by folklore, such as Cezar Petrescu's *Aranka, ştima lacurilor* [Aranka, the Djin of the Lakes], Mircea Cărtărescu's *Orbitor* [Blinding] (with the apocalyptic episode of the Badislavs), or Bogdan Popescu's *Cine adoarme ultimul* [Who Falls Asleep Last]. The presence of Devil's representations in modern prose serves the same function as the earlier ones: to alleviate the diabolic alterity through aesthetisation, grotesque and descriptions so minute that they cease to be horrifying.

This book demonstrates that the representations of the Devil in literature are surprisingly consistent with their folk models, so there exists a coherence of the "Romanian Devil", if I may say so. Romanian writers generally select canonical folkloric representations, already euphemised, that they alleviate even further through aesthetic and ideological codification of "nationally-specific" mental realities. Even postmodern authors appeal to the classical "nocturnal" imaginary. It is not "Romanian genius", one and the same from the beginning until today, which makes this happen, but a certain interpretation of this concept, very seductive and authoritatively consolidated through generations. There are important results to be expected from an exam of the interference between folk/popular and classical literature, and I hope that Mircea Păduraru will take this exam even further in his future investigations, hopefully as ingeniously and efficiently as in the present one.

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şi vrăjitorie în cultura română, Ed. Polirom, 2013. Articles on various themes: the Merry Cemetery of Săpânţa, the anthropological aspects of artistic practice, the history of popular and learned beliefs and ideas, etc. Alone or in collaboration with Ştefana Pop-Curşeu, he translated numerous books from French into Romanian (Jean Cuisenier, *Memoria Carpaţilor*, 2002; Patrick Deville, *Femeia perfectă*, 2002; Gustave Thibon, *Diagnostic*, 2004; L.-F. Céline, *Convorbiri cu Profesorul Y*, 2006; H. Michaux, *Viaţa în pliuri*, 2007; Philippe Forest, *Romanul, realul, şi alte eseuri*, 2008; William Cliff, *În Orient*, 2010), and from Romanian to French (Lucian Blaga, *Le Grand passage*, 2003; Ion Pop, *La Découverte de l'œil*, 2005).

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